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An Instrument in Comparative Oblivion? Women and the Guitar in Victorian London

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Open University
Department of Music, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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Abstract

This thesis develops our knowledge of the guitar in Victorian England by focusing on amateur players. It demonstrates that the instrument did not fall into the oblivion claimed in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1880. Two areas of investigation are given providing sufficient evidence that interest in the instrument was maintained throughout this era.

A survey of teachers, including anonymous advertisers and governesses, demonstrates that tuition continued throughout the period. Some lowering of interest is evident following the great popularity of the instrument in the 1830s but a renaissance occurred in the last two decades of the century. The eighty English method books studied confirm this finding. Not only were new books published as the century progressed but evidence shows that earlier books continued to be available from publishers.

Research in these areas throws light on the identity of the amateur players. Whilst some pupils were men, the majority were almost certainly women or girls. The costs of learning suggest that many of them would have been from wealthier classes in the early years of the century and would have started learning the instrument after having first learnt the piano. In the later years of the century there was a wider social base of players in the expanding middle class and there was less evidence that students already possessed keyboard skills.

Two case studies conclude the thesis giving examples of aristocratic amateurs; the first illustrates the guitar in the early Victorian years where it was enjoyed privately in a country house and the second demonstrates how, in later years, amateurs used the instrument in ensembles and took it into public places for charity events.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, published in 1880, had a short entry for 'Guitar' which included the following statement:

'The genuine Spanish guitar was introduced into England after the Peninsula War by Ferdinand Sor, a Spaniard who was both a composer and a player of the instrument. About the same time the guitar was very much in fashion on the Continent, and even Paganini cultivated it. But this circumstance was due to the romantic associations rather than to the intrinsic merits of the instrument and accordingly it soon relapsed into comparative oblivion. It is, however, occasionally employed in the orchestra and for the accompaniment of simple vocal pieces, and for these purposes it has no doubt its merits.'¹

This quotation raises two issues. The first, namely the low esteem with which the instrument was regarded, has been well documented and will be discussed in chapter two.² The second issue is the instrument's supposed fall into 'comparative oblivion' in the later years of the Victorian period. This thesis will argue that it did not thus descend because amateurs continued to play it.

1.1. The Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

Dictionaries and encyclopædias are a rich source of information because of the way that they can reflect the 'musical mentality of a past era'.³ An understanding of this 'musical mentality' of the 1870s and 1880s and some background information about the *Encyclopædia* will help explain the dismissive tone of the article.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* was first published in the late eighteenth century in three volumes and by 1900 had been through nine editions each of which was an enlargement

¹ 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia Britannica* 9th edn, 25 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1875-89), xi (1880), 267-68. No evidence has been found of Paganini playing the guitar in public in England. I am grateful to James Westbrook for this information, (personal communication, 29 May 2020). In addition, in 1829 Paganini reportedly said that he never played it in public. See 'Biography, Paganini', *Literary Gazette*, 25 July 1829, pp. 491-92.

² See below Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

³ Vincent Duckles, 'Some Observations on Music Lexicography', *College Music Symposium*, 11 (1971), 115-22 (p. 115).

of the previous one. The twenty-five volumes of the ninth edition were published one by one between 1875 and 1889 and the first editor of this ninth edition, Thomas Baynes, ambitiously aimed to give ‘an impartial summary of results in every department of inquiry and research’. For this he assembled some eleven hundred contributors from many countries.⁴ It has become known as the ‘Scholar’s edition’ because of its ‘contributions to the intellectual thinking of the time’.⁵

For music the focus was on the ‘high art’ repertoire which was largely based on the well-known works of classical composers.⁶ Thus, in the essay about ‘music’, George Macfarren wrote of music as one of the ‘fine arts’, referring to Beethoven, and the symphony as of high importance.⁷ The perceived supremacy of the orchestra in these volumes is demonstrated by the entry about the harp. The author was Alfred Hipkins, a piano tuner at Broadwood, who supported the revival of early keyboard instruments and who, in addition, was well known for his authoritative writing about many instruments in general.⁸ He noted that domestic use of the harp was declining but then tempered his comments by noting its increased use in orchestras, thus giving it the status of other instruments used in that context. This contrasts with the essay that Hipkins also wrote about the harp, at around the same time, that was published in the first edition of Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, in which he felt no need to justify the instrument’s

⁴ Robert Crawford, ‘Baynes, Thomas Spencer’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1783>> [accessed 14 April 2020].

⁵ Herman Kogan, *The Great EB, the Story of the Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 62.

⁶ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 243. For discussion of the way in which the division between ‘high art’ and ‘popular’ music developed in the nineteenth century see below Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

⁷ George Macfarren, ‘Music History’ in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xvii (1884), 77-102.

⁸ Cyril Ehrlich, ‘Hipkins, Alfred.’ in *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013069>> [accessed 12 August 2019].

credentials by referring to its orchestral use.⁹ It is not certain whether Hipkins himself added the orchestra reference to his *Britannica* article; it is possible that it was added by the editor.

Given the orchestral focus it is not surprising that the article about the guitar in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is fairly dismissive of the instrument saying that its use in orchestras is only occasional. Sean Ferguson has noted that this orchestral use of the guitar does not 'seem' to refer to concertos but rather the instrument's use as part of the ensemble as in Rossini's *Barber of Seville* and Weber's *Oberon*.¹⁰ The *Britannica* author may also have had in mind a more recent occasion; on 29 August 1876 the first performance was given of Frederic Cowen's *Corsair* at the Birmingham Music Festival. In this cantata a ballad for soprano voice is accompanied by guitar and oboe. The guitar here is clearly part of the orchestra; at the first performance the guitarist was Catharina Pratten (1824-1895) whose career is outlined below. The event was successful although one reviewer felt that a certain lack of rehearsal was evident and the guitar was not as effective as the harp.¹¹ Pratten's biographer noted that she herself had felt that the instrument had been 'too feeble to be effective'.¹² These limited orchestral uses may have been why the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* relegated the guitar to comparative and not complete oblivion. Two other instruments that were by the mid nineteenth century not used in orchestras were given harsher treatment. Neither the recorder nor the harpsichord had their own entries. The former was mentioned in the article about the flute

⁹ Alfred Hipkins, 'Harp', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by George Grove, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1879-1889), i (1879), 685-87.

¹⁰ Sean Ferguson, 'The Guitar before 1900: What the Dictionaries Reveal', *Guitar Foundation of America Refereed Monograph*, No. 1. 2011.

¹¹ 'Birmingham Music Festival', *Morning Post*, 31 August 1876. An indication of the orchestration is given in the vocal score, see Frederic Cowen, *The Corsair* (London: Boosey, n.d.), pp. 19-21. A full score has not been found; it may never have been published. A woman playing alongside men in an orchestra at that time was highly unusual coming as it does nearly fifty years before Henry Wood first employed female violinists in the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1913. See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 161.

¹² Frank Mott Harrison, *Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten* (Bournemouth: Barnes & Mullins, 1899), p. 39.

where it was described as obsolete while the harpsichord was described as an instrument that preceded the pianoforte in the latter's article.¹³

The reference to the 'romantic associations' of the guitar is significant and further points towards the low regard in which the instrument was held. These 'romantic associations' hark back to the period earlier in the century when the guitar was associated with a romantic image of southern European countries, especially Spain, and were fuelled by the return of officers from the Peninsula campaign.¹⁴ Britton notes that these 'romantic associations' were also derived from the gentle and mysterious timbre of the instrument and, in contrast, they additionally conjured up images of players who were wild, adventurous, and 'on the periphery of polite society', such as poets and artists. As Britton suggests, although the early nineteenth-century guitarists themselves embraced the romantic connection, these images were ultimately a disadvantage and helped to 'widen the schism between popular and classical',¹⁵ in other words high art, music.

The remainder of the *Britannica* article about the guitar gave more detail than the earlier entry in the eighth edition, which had said little more than that the instrument was used by Spaniards to accompany songs and had six strings.¹⁶ A reference to Pratten's instruction book *Learning the Guitar Simplified* is added, and the introduction of the instrument into England is attributed to Fernando Sor (1778-1839), the Catalan musician, who came to this country after the Peninsula War.¹⁷ It is another indication of the low esteem with

¹³ 'Flute' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, ix (1879), 350-351. Alfred Hipkins, 'Pianoforte' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xiv (1885), 64-78, (pp. 70-71).

¹⁴ For a full account of Peninsula Campaign officers and the guitar, and how the officers were likened to medieval troubadours see Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), pp. 111-131, 202-203. For further reference to the romantic connection of the guitar to medieval troubadours see below Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the romantic image of the guitar see Andrew Britton, 'The Guitar in the Romantic Period: its musical and social development with special reference to Bristol and Bath', (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2010), pp. 126-149.

¹⁶ 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia Britannica* 8th edn, 21 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1853-60), ii (1856), 90-91.

¹⁷ 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xi (1880), 267-268.

which the guitar was held that the editor did not ask Hipkins to contribute this article, particularly as Hipkins was writing about the instrument for Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* at about the same time.¹⁸ It is possible that the anonymous author who was employed was paid a lower fee.

1.2. Research Question

Did the guitar descend into 'comparative oblivion'? This question leads to other questions; if the instrument continued to be played then who was playing and teaching it, and did their music making fall under the umbrella of 'popular' music later in the century? Were these players professional performers or amateurs and how can they be viewed in terms of class and gender? If enthusiasm was maintained were there some periods of greater or less interest, and why was the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* so dismissive of the instrument?

Most writers agree that the guitar was popular in the early 1830s. For example, Westbrook has shown that the important guitar makers, the Panormos, were at their most productive in the period 1830 to 1833.¹⁹ The picture later in the century is not so clear although there is agreement that there was a decline in interest starting from the late 1830s. Britton refers to the middle of the century as being the 'wilderness' years with some renaissance for the instrument after 1880. He does, however, concede that in England it remained popular with amateurs.²⁰ Some contemporary writers from this middle period mention that the guitar used to be popular but was no longer so. For example, a contributor to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1888 announced a forthcoming concert by the blind guitarist, Manjon, and wrote: 'Play as he may we do not expect him to revive the guitar craze which his compatriot Ferdinand Lor [*sic*] fostered in this country about

¹⁸ Alfred Hipkins, 'Guitar', in *Dictionary* ed. by Grove, i (1879), 639-41.

¹⁹ James Westbrook 'Guitar Making in Nineteenth-Century London: Louis Panormo and his Contemporaries', (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012), p. 163.

²⁰ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 344.

seventy years ago. At that period - but only for a time - the guitar drove the pianoforte out of the field'²¹

This thesis will investigate whether there is sufficient evidence of amateur interest in the guitar to show that the instrument did not descend into this 'oblivion'. Two areas of evidence of amateur playing are investigated; teachers and method books. Both demonstrate that amateurs continued to play the instrument throughout the century with some peaks and troughs in interest.

Although the Victorian years can be viewed as a distinct era with changes in the 1830s showing a 'transition from one cultural configuration to another', the time frame under consideration here has been extended backwards in order to achieve as complete a picture as possible.²² The period under consideration here begins at approximately 1800, the date when the first printed music for the guitar with six single strings appeared in London.²³ This was important, because for many of the teachers their ways of working that had been established prior to 1837 would have continued after that date. Likewise, with the method books, many of those published before 1837 continued to be in use later in the century.

1:3. Literature Sources

The wider social and economic context for the guitar will be outlined in chapter two; here, works largely about the guitar will be considered. Literature about the six-string guitar that developed at the end of the eighteenth century began to be published in earnest in the early years of the twentieth century and there is less than for some other instruments.²⁴ The backbone of the serious studies dating from the early twentieth century consists of

²¹ 'Dramatic and Musical', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1888.

²² For discussion of what constitutes the Victorian period see Martin Hewitt, 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain does make sense', *Victorian Studies* 48:3 (2006), 395-438; Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 228.

²³ Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 89.

²⁴ For a description of the development of the six string guitar see below Chapter 2, Section 2.1.

three dictionaries by Philip Bone, Josef Zuth, and Domingo Prat.²⁵ All three are the products of painstaking research by enthusiasts. Bone's work is the most relevant here because it was written by an Englishman and includes many extended entries about guitarists who worked in Britain. Much has been made of the inaccuracies in the book. One reviewer of the unrevised reprint of the second edition in 1972 went as far as to suggest that 'its republication [...] was an insult to the intelligence of the average guitarist'.²⁶ As Weinberg has noted, however, the main issue for researchers today is the absence of source references.²⁷ In addition, Bone's concern to elevate the guitar into mainstream music led him to include disproportionately long entries about a few composers who, whilst being giants of 'high art' classical music, were less significant for the guitar.²⁸ He was rooted in the musicological thinking of his time and so there are few mentions of women and a virtual absence of any reference to amateurs. Nevertheless, as Weinberg emphasises, there are many aspects of this book that suggest further avenues of investigation.²⁹

The first academic works of standing about guitarists were two volumes completed in the 1970s. The first, by Thomas Heck, concerned Giuliani and the guitar in Vienna in the very early nineteenth century.³⁰ Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) was a figure of great importance to the guitarists working in London in the first part of the nineteenth century

²⁵ Philip Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers for these Instruments* (London: Schott, 1914). Josef Zuth, *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre* (Vienna: Anton Goll, 1926). Domingo Prat, *Diccionario de Guitarristas* (Buenos Aires: Romero y Fernandez, 1934).

²⁶ John Roberts, 'Book Review: The Guitar and Mandolin, Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers by Philip Bone'. *Guitar*, July 1975, p. 31.

²⁷ Simon Weinberg, 'A Bone of Contention', *Classical Guitar*, May 1984, pp. 49-50.

²⁸ For example in the first edition the entry that occupied the most number of pages, (nine), was about Paganini who played the guitar in addition to the violin. The entry about Beethoven took seven and a half pages, the same as that for Giuliani. Whereas Giuliani was one of the most important guitarists of the century, Beethoven used the mandolin in just a few compositions.

²⁹ Weinberg, 'A Bone of Contention', p. 50.

³⁰ Thomas Heck, 'The Birth of the Classic Guitar and its cultivation in Vienna, Reflected in the Career and Compositions of Mauro Giuliani (d.1829)', (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1970).

even though there is no evidence to suggest that he ever visited the capital. As a measure of their esteem a journal, *The Giulianiad*, was named in his honour and was first published in London in January 1833. Written with a similar degree of thoroughness as Heck's thesis was the biography of Fernando Sor, who did live in London from 1815 until 1822, by Brian Jeffery.³¹ This book and the work by Heck set new standards for researchers because of the exhaustive searches of primary sources and great attention to detail by both authors. This thorough approach has continued and is to be seen in Stenstadvold's *Bibliography of Guitar Methods* which has been an invaluable source of information about the didactic literature.³²

Two theses have studied guitar technique in the early nineteenth century, both making extensive use of method books.³³ However, neither includes many books that were published in England. Cox refers to seventy-one books of which five were published in England. Ribouillault's work concentrates on France and includes reference to just two books published in England.³⁴ Both writers acknowledge that the sources they have studied would help to give an understanding of the social place of the guitar and guitarists but neither enlarges on this.³⁵

While the sources so far described largely concentrate on the lives and work of professional performers, other researchers have contributed to a wider picture for the instrument. One of the earliest books that aimed to give a social context for the guitar was

³¹ Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor, Composer and Guitarist*, (London: Tecla, 1977). For the date of Sor's departure from London see Erik Stenstadvold, 'Fernando Sor on the Move in the Early 1820s', *Soundboard Scholar* 1 (2015), 16-25, (p. 19).

³² Erik Stenstadvold, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2010).

³³ Paul Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique and its Evolution as Reflected in the Method Books ca. 1770-1850', (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1978). Danielle Ribouillault, 'La Technique de Guitare en France dans la Première Moitié du 19e Siècle', (PhD dissertation, Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1980).

³⁴ The English method books that Cox refers to are by Bennett, Eulenstein (presumed), Marescot, Sola and Sor. Ribouillault refers to those by Hamilton and Eulenstein (presumed).

³⁵ Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique', p. 3. Ribouillault, 'Technique de la Guitare', p. 15.

that by Frederic Grunfeld in 1969.³⁶ However, his attempt to trace its history from antiquity through to modern times inevitably means that discussion of any particular period, including the nineteenth century, is brief. Detailed research has been undertaken more recently by Andrew Britton.³⁷ He aims for a better understanding of guitarists by looking at the social, political and economic factors behind the instrument's development. He focuses on the last decades of the eighteenth century and the period of the instrument's great popularity in first few decades of the nineteenth. Britton writes about the three centres of activity, Paris, Vienna, and London. Although for the nineteenth century his focus is on the earlier years, he does nevertheless identify strands which remain relevant for the whole century and can be explored further. Firstly, he notes that there were many simple pieces for amateurs written in an outdated 'galant' style.³⁸ Next, he notes that the guitar was 'marginalised' and excluded from bourgeois institutions and describes the way in which journals attacked the instrument.³⁹ Finally, he considers the importance of gender stereotypes of the time and rightly suggests that the guitar was frequently viewed as a woman's instrument and was therefore trivialised by a male-dominated music profession.⁴⁰

Other writers have focussed on the guitar in England. Stewart Button broke new ground by uncovering much information about guitarists who had previously been mentioned only little;⁴¹ his work has justifiably been described as a seminal thesis.⁴² He considers professional performers and teachers; it would have been beyond the scope of his work to discuss much of the social and cultural ethos which is central to my work. In addition,

³⁶ Frederic Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar; an Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

³⁷ Britton, 'Guitar'.

³⁸ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 43.

³⁹ Britton, 'Guitar', pp. 76, 88.

⁴⁰ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 76.

⁴¹ Stewart Button, *The Guitar in England 1800-1924* (New York: Garland, 1989).

⁴² Britton, 'Guitar', p. xxix.

other details have been updated by more recent research. The work by James Westbrook gives a thorough view of the organology of the guitar through the century.⁴³ He relies on extensive knowledge of and research into extant instruments. In addition, he uses genealogical sources to find details of instrument makers and arrives at a comprehensive inventory of London guitar makers in the nineteenth century, including some for whom no extant instruments have been found. He establishes that there was a 'London School of Guitar Making' in the first half of the nineteenth century and that this school made an important contribution to the development of the 'Spanish Guitar'. Westbrook establishes Louis Panormo as the most important maker.⁴⁴

My thesis concerns amateur guitar players. Often however, where writers refer to them, some mention that they existed is given but little investigation is offered concerning their identity and significance. For example, although Cox recognised that most guitarists at that time were amateurs he does not elaborate;⁴⁵ nor would such an investigation have been particularly relevant to his argument which is chiefly concerned with playing technique. Finding evidence of amateur musicians is not straightforward. Prior to the mid twentieth century authors were most concerned with professional musicians. In 1959 Temperley broke new ground by drawing attention to music-making at home arguing that it must have been considerable because of the increasingly large amount of piano music that was published as well as songs, ballads, and chamber music.⁴⁶ Bashford has described the difficulty of finding information about amateur domestic chamber music and notes that this is largely because it was a private activity. She described how men in particular may not have wished to acknowledge publicly their enjoyment of making music because of the taint of such a pastime being unmanly. She cites evidence of their musical activities from various sources such as magazines, letters, diaries and amateur

⁴³ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making'.

⁴⁴ Westbrook, 'Guitar making', p. xix.

⁴⁵ Paul Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique', pp. 29, 83.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Temperley, 'Domestic Music in England 1800-1860', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85 (1959), 31-47 (p. 32).

drawings.⁴⁷ However, her focus on chamber music does not extend to any discussion of how some amateurs, especially women, took their music into public spaces towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Christopher Page has taken guitar research to a new level with his history of the instrument in Georgian England.⁴⁸ Making extensive use of primary sources that include digitised newspapers, diaries, literature, and art he arrives at a social, cultural, and musical history of the instrument. His work encompasses not only the careers of some professional performers who spent time in England but also reveals a range of the activities of amateur guitarists amongst all classes and at many levels of proficiency. His work covers the period of the instrument's enormous popularity immediately prior to 1837 and which extended into the Victorian era.

Other researchers have contributed information about amateurs later in the century. Paul Sparks's research into the late Victorian ladies' guitar bands has shown how significant this niche of amateur music making was and how these groups performed in public.⁴⁹ Brian Whitehouse's recent book gives much insight into one eccentric amateur in particular, Walter Leckie.⁵⁰

This thesis will draw attention to wealthier amateurs; in this respect recent research into music making in country houses that has used the surviving collections of sheet music as the main source of information has been invaluable in uncovering the musical lives of the amateur musicians in these establishments. One of the first of these studies of

⁴⁷ For discussion of the difficulty of finding out about private amateur chamber music see Christina Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63:2 (2010), 291-360. (p. 301).

⁴⁸ Christopher Page, 'Being a Guitarist in late Georgian Britain', *Early Music* 46 (2018), 3-16. Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*.

⁴⁹ Paul Sparks, "A Considerable Attraction for both Ears and Eyes": Ladies' Guitar and Mandolin Bands in late Victorian London', *Soundboard*, 38:4 (2012), 36-44. Paul Sparks, 'Clara Ross, Mabel Downing and Ladies' Guitar and Mandolin Bands', *Early Music*, 41:4 (2013), 621-32.

⁵⁰ Brian Whitehouse, *Dr Walter Leckie & Don Francisco Tárrega* (Halesowen: ASG Music, 2019).

aristocratic amateurs was by Caroline Wood who based her work on the extensive collection of sheet music at Burton Constable Hall in East Yorkshire; together with other archival material she built a picture of the musical activities of the Constable family in the early Victorian years.⁵¹ The guitar players of this family are further considered here in chapter six. The work by Penelope Cave focuses on the piano but nevertheless gives much detail of the musical life at Tatton Park in Cheshire and Killerton House in Devon in the first half of the nineteenth century. She concluded that music was 'integral to the lives of families'.⁵² Jane Troughton uses the collections of music in Harewood House and Castle Howard, both in Yorkshire, as well as other sources. She concludes that there was much musical activity in both places in the period 1770 to 1850.⁵³

Assumptions stemming from the early historiography of the nineteenth-century guitar continued to underpin research in the second half of the twentieth-century. In particular it was assumed by many writers that during that period the activities of guitarists in England were of little consequence while the developments in Spain were of paramount importance. So, Grunfeld writes: 'In the epoch of the grand piano the best place to find guitars is their native country'.⁵⁴ Turnbull refers to the 'level to which the guitar had sunk' in Victorian times.⁵⁵ Wade only mentions one English guitarist from this period, Catharina Pratten, and includes her with other less well known guitarists describing them as 'scattered and obscure names which flit like ghosts across footnotes or odd pages of guitar history'.⁵⁶ He then continues to write about Spanish makers and players in a

⁵¹ Caroline Wood, 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. by Bennett Zon, 3 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999-2003), i (1999), 209-24.

⁵² Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845', (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2013), p. 286.

⁵³ Jane Troughton, 'The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House 1770-1850', (PhD thesis, University of York, 2014), pp. 370-71.

⁵⁴ Grunfeld *Art and Times* p. 211. He refers to Spain as the native country of guitars.

⁵⁵ Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Batsford, 1974), p. 105.

⁵⁶ Graham Wade, *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (London: John Calder, 1980), p. 130.

section entitled 'The Golden Age'.⁵⁷ Without doubt, the instrument that would be recognised as the standard classical guitar of the twentieth century was perfected by Spanish luthiers, the most significant of whom was Antonio de Torres (1817-1892).⁵⁸ Given this, Spanish luthiers and players are rightly regarded as having played a decisive role in the development of the instrument. Nevertheless, there was also purposeful activity in England.

In more general histories of music the guitar has, as Paul Sparks put it, kept a 'remarkably low profile'.⁵⁹ Where mention is made of nineteenth century guitars emphasis is invariably on Sor and Giuliani whilst in some publications the instrument is conspicuous by its absence. For example, Sophie Fuller does not include Pratten in her *Pandora Guide to Women Composers* but does include the ballad composer Claribel (Charlotte Alington Barnard) and the song writer Caroline Norton both of whose compositions would, like those of Pratten, have fallen into the category of popular music.⁶⁰ Other written works that say little about the guitar give important insights into amateur music making. Golby's work on music teachers, for example, gives most space to violin teaching with some reference to the guitar. However, he includes much information about the social and cultural background of music teachers, and is invaluable in understanding the place of music teaching within wider society.⁶¹ He does not, however, mention the divide between 'popular' and 'high art' music that developed which is key to understanding the place of plucked string instruments. This issue, which will be discussed further in chapter two, is

⁵⁷ Wade, *Traditions*, p. 131.

⁵⁸ Paul Sparks, 'The Guitar before Torres', in *The Classical Guitar* ed. by John Morrish (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2002), pp. 11-15 (p. 15). For more details about the work of Torres see José Romanillos, *Antonio de Torres* (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1987).

⁵⁹ Paul Sparks, 'Editorial', *Early Music* 46:1 (2018), 1.

⁶⁰ Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers* (London: Pandora, 1994). pp. 86-88, 221-223. It is possible that Fuller included Claribel on account of her lesser known compositions of hymns.

⁶¹ David Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

clearly described by Derek Scott in his study of Victorian domestic songs and has much relevance for the history of the guitar.⁶²

1.4. The Pelzer/Pratten family.

The dominance of the Pelzer/Pratten family in London in the nineteenth century has been noted by nearly all guitar history writers and the name of Catharina Pratten, née Pelzer, known as Madame Sidney Pratten after her marriage in 1854, is synonymous with the Victorian guitar. They were the most influential guitarists of the time as performers, teachers, and composers of both music and didactic works. They are introduced here because of the importance of their work and the influence they had on other Victorian guitarists.

The German musician Ferdinand Pelzer (1801-1864), born in Trier in Germany, had settled in London by 1829 with his wife Maria (1804-1863) and daughter Catharina.⁶³ In that year one reviewer commented that Pelzer, and the Polish guitarist Horetzky (1796-1870), were the best guitar players in London.⁶⁴ By the 1830s Pelzer had firmly established himself as one of the leading guitarists in London; he performed, taught, published music including a guitar method book, and edited the periodical *The Giulianiad*. Later in the 1840s his interest turned to the teaching of choral singing which took him for a few years to the West Country.

While in London Ferdinand and Maria had a further six children; all the four girls were musicians. Jane (1831-1846) was a pianist who studied with Moscheles and died young. Annie (1833-1897) played the piano and played and published music for the concertina although all her public work ceased after her marriage in 1859. Giulia (1838-1938) was

⁶² Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 210.

⁶³ Some of the biographical details of the Pelzer family are taken from my own dissertation about Ferdinand Pelzer. See Sarah Clarke, 'The Career of Ferdinand Pelzer (1801-1864) in Britain from c.1829 until 1864 with particular reference to his work with the Spanish Guitar and the Singing Class Movement', (MA Dissertation, The Open University, 2011).

⁶⁴ 'Varieties', *Sunday Times*, 23 August 1829.

professor of guitar and latterly also mandolin at the Guildhall School of Music from 1885.⁶⁵ Cunigunda (1840-1878) taught concertina and played guitar.⁶⁶ Of the boys, very little is known about Ferdinand (1837-?) and Christian (1842-1845) died as an infant.

Catharina became the most well known. She was a child prodigy; it was reported in 1833, when she was aged eight years old, that in a concert in the Concert Room at the King's Theatre she 'performed with all the *nonchalance* of a veteran'.⁶⁷ The earliest reference found of her teaching was in an advertisement in 1846 placed while she lived in Exeter.⁶⁸ She continued to perform and teach after her return to London in approximately 1850 until her death in 1895. Her biographer claimed that she had taught some two thousand pupils in her life many of whom were aristocratic and included Princess Louise.⁶⁹ Her importance was recognised by contemporaries; in the 1890s announcements by teachers that they had been a pupil, and best of all a favourite pupil, of Madame Pratten would be offered as an indication of competence. However, it is

⁶⁵ 'Madame Giulia Pelzer', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 12 Nov 1904, p. 9512. This states that she retired in 1901 after teaching at the school for sixteen. years.

⁶⁶ Rohr found in her research into the careers of British Musicians in this period that about 80% of musicians had fathers who were professional musicians. See Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2001), p. 23. There can be little doubt that Ferdinand taught his daughters; his *Practical Guide to Modern Piano Forte Playing* was written from experience of teaching his own children. See Ferdinand Pelzer, *A Practical Guide to Modern Pianoforte Playing* (London: The Author, [1842]).

⁶⁷ 'Messrs. Dressler and Pelzer's Concert', *The Giulianiad*, [July] 1833, p. 49.

⁶⁸ 'Advertisement', *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 25 July 1846.

⁶⁹ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 72. Pratten advertised her tuition of Princess Louise from 1878 until her death. She made the claim that two of her tutor books were used by the Princesses Louise and Beatrice. This was displayed on the title pages of her *Instructions for the Guitar* and *Learning the Guitar Simplified* on editions that were published after 1877. Much of the secondary literature today states that Pratten also taught Beatrice. For the only mention of it found during Pratten's lifetime see 'Madame Sidney Pratten', *Gentleman's Journal*, February 1894, p. 509. In this the author is uncertain and says 'we believe' she teaches Beatrice. Her biographer and pupil, Frank Mott Harrison, makes no mention of it. Two obituaries published just after her death in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 20 October 1895, and the *Glasgow Herald*, 16 October 1895, say that she did. The next reference to this tuition came in 1932. See Boris Perott, 'The Famous Guitarists, Chapter IX', *B.M.G.*, October 1932, p. 7. It would seem probable that she did not teach Beatrice and that the two newspapers claiming that she did were confused by the dedication on the tutor books.

particularly significant and a measure of her standing that, in addition to her mention in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, she was named in two important contemporary reference books concerned with high art music.⁷⁰ In the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* she is referred to as 'a well-known professor of the guitar' at the end of her husband's entry. In Brown and Stratton's *British Musical Biography* she is listed as 'a well-known guitar-player and writer'.⁷¹ In Grove's *Dictionary* only two other guitarists who were living when it was published are included, although with both entries emphasis is given to their first instrument which, in neither case, was the guitar. Karl (Charles) Eulenstein (1802-1890), originally from Germany, played the Jew's harp. Elisabeth Mounsey (1820-1905) was an organist who held a position at St Peter's Church, Cornhill, from 1834 until 1882.⁷²

Many of the secondary literature references to the family have depended on inaccurate sources. For example, Paula Gillett writes about Pratten using two documents without acknowledging their problems.⁷³ For much of her information she relies on Pratten's reminiscences as recounted by one of her pupils, Frank Mott Harrison (1866-1945), in an article published in 1891 and in his later book of *Reminiscences* published in 1899.⁷⁴ Harrison would have first met his teacher when she was in her sixties. She would no doubt have given her approval to the first article but not the later book. However, accounts that rely on a person's memories, particularly memories of an older person, can

⁷⁰ For a description of high art music see below Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

⁷¹ George Grove, 'Pratten', in *Dictionary* ed. by Grove, iii (1883), 27. James Brown and Stephen Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham: S S Stratton, 1897), p. 326. Catharina's husband was Robert Sidney Pratten (1824-1868), a leading flautist of his time; her inclusion in these books may have been in part because she was his wife.

⁷² Victor De Pontigny, 'Eulenstein, Charles', *Dictionary of Music*, i (1879), 497. F. G. E., 'Elizabeth Mounsey', *Musical Times*, 1 November 1905, pp. 718-21.

⁷³ Paula Gillett, 'Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s', in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914*, ed. by William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 198-220 (pp. 211-12).

⁷⁴ [Frank Mott Harrison], 'An Eminent Guitariste', *The Gentlewoman*, 22 August 1891, p. 259. Harrison, *Reminiscences*. This book was collated with minor corrections from articles by Harrison that were published in *The Troubadour* between June 1897 and July 1898.

be inaccurate. Further information on the family is to be found in Giulia Pelzer's 'Memoirs'.⁷⁵ In an age when respectability was so important both Pratten and her sister would certainly have been selective with some of the details they chose to recount. In addition, their memories of some things may have been incorrect; recent research by the psychologist Elizabeth Loftus has demonstrated how not only can memories be distorted but that completely false memories can be constructed.⁷⁶ The assertion that Pratten took part as a child in a concert with the great singer Grisi, for example, needs to be treated with caution unless an additional reference to the event can be found which, so far, has not come to light. In this thesis where possible I use a wider range of sources; note is made of the instances where it has not been possible to verify the accounts in either Harrison's *Reminiscences* or Giulia Pelzer's 'Memoirs'.

Pratten's career largely demonstrates the place of the guitar within upper-class society in both public places as a professional performer and in private places through her teaching and pupils. She was, in many ways unusual, because, as an astute business woman she projected an exclusive image of the instrument and herself maintained a high profile. However, she was one among many and this thesis will make reference to other musicians who included work with the guitar in their often varied careers.

1.5. Chapter Overview

Much of the writing about the guitar in the nineteenth century has focused on the most prominent players and the most well-known tutor books. Until recently little interest has been shown in amateurs. This is now changing with the recent focus on the social history

⁷⁵ London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama, Appleby Collection, 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer'.

⁷⁶ The work of the psychologist Elizabeth Loftus into corrupted memories has led to changes into how eyewitness accounts are viewed in court cases. See Moheb Costandi, 'Corrupted Memory', *Nature*, 15 August 2013. The 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer' should be treated with particular caution as its provenance is unknown and includes factual errors. For example, the writer states that Ferdinand Pelzer's wife was the daughter of a French general posted in Trier. However, the marriage record in the Trier archives reveals that she was the daughter of a German policeman. See Trier, Stadtarchiv Trier, Heiratseintrages Nr 49/1823 vom 22 April 1823.

of music within historical musicology. This thesis explores and assesses new sources of evidence to show light on the private world of amateur players.

Chapter 2. The Social and Economic Context

This chapter considers the economic, social and cultural background to guitar playing during the Victorian era and provides a context for the later investigations. After a description of the instrument I show how the guitar became aligned with so called 'popular' music as the divide between this and 'high art' music developed in the second half of the century. The cost of buying and maintaining guitars is investigated and the market for the instrument is considered.

Chapter 3. Guitar Teachers Part One: Who taught the Guitar?

Evidence that amateurs continued to play the instrument is confirmed by the continued activities of people teaching the guitar. This chapter investigates the identity of these teachers, starting with those that are relatively well known and referred to in the secondary literature. This list is then expanded using sources gathered from an electronic search of the newspaper the *Morning Post*. The widened search included anonymous advertisers and governesses.

Chapter 4. Guitar Teachers Part Two: How they worked

This chapter continues the investigation of guitar teachers, using data on where they worked and how they ran their businesses which leads to a consideration of the identities of the amateur players. The locations of tuition, including homes, schools, and colleges are identified. A small survey is made of the charges made for lessons and how teachers promoted an image of the instrument. This, with the preceding chapter, leads to discussion of the wealth, class, and gender of pupils.

Chapter 5. The Method Books

This chapter introduces a survey of guitar method books in England in the nineteenth century. The continued publication of many throughout the period provides further evidence of enthusiasm for the guitar by amateurs. The books are divided into two

groups; advanced and adequate. The prices, illustrations and repertoire are analysed to suggest who would have been using them.

Chapter 6. Case Study: The Guitar at Burton Constable Hall

This case study is focused on an aristocratic amateur, Eliza Chichester, who lived with her married sister at Burton Constable Hall in East Yorkshire. The study was chosen because the surviving collection of materials relating to the guitar playing, and more broadly to the musical life of the family, provide an exceptional dossier of sources which show the place of the guitar in the early Victorian period in one country house.

Chapter 7. Case Study: Augusta Hervey, Lady of the Ladies' Guitar and Mandoline Band⁷⁷

The second case study centres on the career of another amateur player, Augusta Hervey. She founded, with her cousin Lady Mary Hervey, an amateur guitar and mandolin band that was active in the late 1880s and 1890s. This study was chosen because it demonstrates that not only was interest in the guitar maintained in those decades, but also that some amateur music making moved away from being a largely private affair, as it was at Burton Constable, to something that was performed in public, outside homes and at charity functions. A picture emerges of an accomplished amateur player for whom music was an important part of her life.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

The evidence about teachers and method books is drawn together, with the two case studies, to explore whether or not the guitar fell into 'comparative oblivion' in the middle and late Victorian years. In addition, details of the class and gender of some of the amateur players who continued to play the instrument are considered.

⁷⁷ The usual spelling for the mandolin was 'mandoline' in this period.

Chapter Two

The Social and Economic Context

By 1800 the nineteenth-century guitar, with its six single strings, was established having evolved from earlier instruments with varying numbers of strings and courses. This chapter describes the instrument and provides outlines of the economic and social background against which it thrived to greater and lesser degrees over the Victorian years.

2.1. What was the Nineteenth-century Guitar?

The Victorian guitar had a figure of eight body and six single strings. Three of these were made of gut and three of wire wound on silk. The usual tuning was the same as is used today. Using the Helmholtz scale in which middle c is c' this is E-A-d-g-b-e'. It was smaller than the modern classical guitar and its size was close to what is now referred to as a three-quarter size instrument. This difference can be seen in Figure 2:1 which shows two instruments that were both made in London. One was made in 1988, the other in 1843.

In the early Victorian period the guitar was referred to as the 'Spanish Guitar', thus clearly distinguishing it from the 'English Guittar' that had been very popular amongst amateurs from the middle of the eighteenth century. This 'Guittar' had been a wire strung instrument usually tuned to a C major chord. By the second decade of the nineteenth century its popularity was diminishing and by 1825 it was largely forgotten.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, 'The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 2, 186. The British were the only Europeans that used the adjective 'Spanish' in this period; they harked back to the Baroque period when the guitar was referred to as the 'Spanish Guitar' everywhere. See Thomas Heck, 'The Vogue of the *Chitarra Francese* in Italy: How French? How Italian? How Neapolitan?', *Soundboard*, 38:4 (2012), 18-24 (p.18).



Figure 2:1. On the left a guitar by Richard Manning, 1988. On the right a guitar by Louis Panormo, 1843, both made in London.

The belief held by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that the Spanish guitar had arrived in England with soldiers returning from the Peninsula war in 1815 was common in nineteenth-century literature. For example, the guitarist's magazine *The Giulianiad*, noted that British officers who had mixed with Spanish people were responsible for its introduction here.⁷⁹ However, it has been shown that it was in use in this country by 1800. The earliest known method book for the instrument by Sperati was published in London in 1802.⁸⁰ The instrument changed very little through the Victorian era although by the middle of the century it was no longer referred to as the 'Spanish' guitar but merely the guitar, or occasionally the 'Ordinary' guitar. In the last couple of decades of the century the term 'Spanish' guitar returned but referred specifically to the guitars that came from

⁷⁹ 'The Westminster Review and the Guitar', *The Giulianiad*, [February] 1833, p. 18.

⁸⁰ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', p. 45.

Spain. These instruments used the same strings as the English Victorian guitars but were about the same size as modern ones. Their design was perfected by the Spanish guitar maker Torres and they were what we would recognise today as the standard classical guitar. At the very end of the nineteenth century another major innovation made its appearance. Whilst gut and silk strings continued to be used on the instruments that became the twentieth-century classical guitar, steel strings began to be sold in the 1890s⁸¹ and were subsequently used on acoustic and electric guitars in the twentieth century.

The nineteenth century saw changes in the level of interest for the guitar; in the first decades there was a 'guitar craze' in western Europe for this romantic instrument that was relatively cheap, could be easy to play, and was portable.⁸² From the late 1830s this enthusiasm declined as the piano increasingly became the favoured instrument for amateurs.⁸³ In addition, as Britton has outlined, the solo music for the guitar did not move with the stylistic developments of the nineteenth century but instead remained in late eighteenth century *galant* style.⁸⁴ Button hints that the decline in interest in the instrument was in part caused by the absence of good makers.⁸⁵ However, Westbrook suggests that possibly good makers turned to other work because of a lack of good players.⁸⁶ Players returned to the guitar in the mid 1880s and in the 1890s, not least because of its widespread use in bands with mandolins and banjos. A writer in the *Musical Opinion* went so far as to note in 1888 that 'the guitar seems destined to take the precedence during the coming season'.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Steel guitar strings were advertised by the London firm of J G Winder in their catalogue of 1897. See *J G Winder's Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of English made Mandolines, Banjos, Guitars* London: J G Winder, [1897]).

⁸² Christopher Page, 'Editorial' *Early Music* 41:4 (2013), 555.

⁸³ Grunfeld refers to the piano as the 'enemy' of the music making of the guitar. See Grunfeld, *Art and Times*, p. 207.

⁸⁴ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 43.

⁸⁵ Button, *Guitar*, pp. 203-04.

⁸⁶ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', p. 15.

⁸⁷ 'The Banjo "Craze"', *Musical Opinion*, 1 October 1888, p. 26.

2.2. The Economic and Social Background

With the industrial revolution England experienced a great acceleration in economic growth with accompanying economic and social transformations.⁸⁸ By the mid nineteenth century the country was seen by other countries as a wonder and was reportedly the workshop of the world.⁸⁹ Among the many changes that came with industrialisation was an immense increase in population. In 1801 the population of England was 8,671,356 and in 1871 it was 21,292,297 and still rising.⁹⁰ Accompanying this increase was urbanisation. By 1851 townspeople outnumbered those living in the country for the first time.⁹¹

The place of music in this changing environment was not straightforward. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give a detailed account, there can be little doubt that there was much enthusiasm for music with a 'huge expansion in musical activity of all types'.⁹² The area that is most relevant for this thesis is that of music performed within homes. England was far from being the 'land without music'; domestic music making was well established for the wealthier in London by 1800⁹³ and continued to flourish throughout the century. This can be illustrated by the great increase in piano ownership and, as Temperley has commented, any work that was popular in a public performance was quickly arranged for the piano and copies were sold in large quantities.⁹⁴ For the guitar, the most popular genre throughout the century and especially in the early years were songs with guitar accompaniments. Nearly all guitarists were making arrangements for

⁸⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 34.

⁸⁹ Brian A'Hearn, 'The British Industrial Revolution in a European Mirror' in *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, ed. by Richard Floud and others, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), i, 1-52 (p.1).

⁹⁰ A'Hearne, 'British Industrial Revolution', p. 73.

⁹¹ Hobsbawm, *Industry*, p. 157.

⁹² Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England 1840-1914* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), p. 1.

⁹³ Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 116.

⁹⁴ Quoted in: Taylor, *Music in London*, p. 125.

these publications, although the person who was particularly productive in this respect was the Italian, Charles Sola (1786-1857). These pieces were among what Britton describes as 'recreational genres'. They were largely simple and pleasing, and have been widely disregarded by music historians; their primary function was social.⁹⁵ Bashford found, in her research into domestic chamber music in Britain, that when players noted their musical activities in letters or diaries they may say who they played with but would rarely mention what was played, thus illustrating the social rather than the musical importance of the occasion.⁹⁶ The diaries of two amateur guitarists in the 1880s and 1890s demonstrate this point. Maud Berkeley lived in the Isle of Wight and kept a diary from her twenty-ninth year in 1888 until 1904. She clearly enjoyed playing both the piano and the guitar and mentions them several times; she carefully notes who she played with but never indicates what pieces of music were used.⁹⁷ A larger number of references to the guitar are also to be found in the diaries of Lady Layard (1843-1912), wife of the archaeologist and politician Sir Austen Henry Layard. Music was a part of her everyday life; she frequently refers to music making at home. She played the piano and had lessons from Charles Hallé; the first of some five hundred references to the guitar in her diary dates from 1862. Nearly all of these references relate to her own playing usually with other people. She meticulously records who these other people were on each occasion, and where they met, but only twice does she refer to what pieces were played.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 154. Britton cites evidence suggesting that in the first four decades of the century thousands of songs with guitar accompaniments were published.

⁹⁶ Bashford, 'Historiography', p.302. Bashford also notes that domestic chamber music has 'became doomed to historiographical invisibility' because of issues that included gender, class, and national identity.

⁹⁷ Maud Berkeley, *Maud, The Diaries of Maud Berkeley*, Adapted by Flora Fraser (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985).

⁹⁸ Lady Mary Layard, 'Lady Layard's Journal', transcribed at <<https://www.browningguide.org/lady-layards-journal>> [accessed 11 November 2016]. She refers to lessons with Hallé on 10 March 1862 and 7 April 1862, there may have been other lessons as well. On 21 August 1890 she wrote 'I went [...] to Mme Pratten to have my last guitar lesson & be taught the piece she dedicated to me'. This piece would have been Pratten's *Clouds, Rain, and Sunshine*. On 30 May 1891 she wrote '[I] went to have a guitar lesson from Mrs Sydney Pratten - & learnt her Indian March'.

To facilitate this musical activity there was what Ehrlich calls a 'flood' of professional musicians in the century. He describes a rapidly increasing proportion of musicians in the population which roughly trebled between 1841 and 1901 according to census returns. These figures are impressive but even so underestimated the true numbers because part-timers were excluded.⁹⁹ However, attitudes to musicians by the wealthy were mixed; some negative attitudes of the eighteenth century continued into the nineteenth. This was illustrated by the often quoted view of the Earl of Chesterfield, who in 1749, urged his son to avoid music making as it would lead him to keep bad company and waste his time.¹⁰⁰ Native musicians in particular were often seen as belonging to a lower artisan class and were thought to have low moral standards.¹⁰¹ On rare occasions people went to the extreme of not wishing musicians to visit their houses at all. Lady Warwick advised the newly-wed Elinor Glynn, as late as the 1890s, that 'anyone engaged in the arts [...] however well connected could not be asked to the house at all'.¹⁰² In spite of these sentiments there is evidence that professional musicians made music and associated with upper class amateurs on many occasions. Concerts took place in the salons of the wealthy to such an extent that as Britton puts it, a 'vast proportion of [guitar performances] wholly unquantifiable, took place within private gatherings'.¹⁰³ Musicians were not always paid for their performances; many would have seen such events as a way to promote their careers as did the German Karl (Charles) Eulenstein (1802-1890). When he arrived in London in 1829 he offered to 'play without payment at parties' in order to attract pupils;

⁹⁹ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp.104, 236.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur Loesser, *Men, women and Pianos* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 213.

¹⁰¹ David Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music A Social and Cultural History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 31.

¹⁰² Quoted in: Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles* (London: The Cresset Library, 1986), p. 61.

¹⁰³ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 55.

this strategy succeeded.¹⁰⁴ As the century progressed hostesses from the middle class also sought to employ musicians; shrewd advice was given on the matter in 1888 in *The Lady*, a weekly journal for 'gentlewomen' with a moderate cover price of three pennies. This specified that if no friends are capable performers then professional musicians must be engaged at considerable expense; the alternative should be to give up the idea of a musical afternoon and have a dance instead.¹⁰⁵ Many music teachers specified in their advertisements that they were available for 'At Homes', one such person was the singer and guitarist Nellie Levey who stated that she was available for 'engagements', from 1888 until the end of the century.¹⁰⁶ It was no doubt at one of these occasions that she so impressed George Bernard Shaw who described her as a 'a young lady with a guitar, an exquisite ear, a quaint vein of humor, and an irresistible smile'.¹⁰⁷ How much interaction there was between the musicians and their hosts at these events may have varied; Spohr noted with dismay in 1820 how, at an occasion when he performed, the performers were kept separate from other guests who rarely gave attention to the music.¹⁰⁸

Some of these events were organised for the benefit of a particular musician with tickets being sold. One such was Catharina Pratten's concert on 26 June 1868 at number eighteen, Carlton House Terrace, the magnificent residence of the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle (Figure 2:2). The high price of tickets, one guinea each or three for two guineas, give an indication of the select people who were expected to attend.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Karl Eulenstein, 'Eulenstein's Musical Career', ed. by Fanny Roodenfels, in *The Jew's Harp*, ed. and translated by Leonard Fox (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1988), pp. 160-211 (p. 201).

¹⁰⁵ 'Musical Afternoons', *The Lady*, 26 June 1888, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁶ She advertised in the *Morning Post* throughout this period.

¹⁰⁷ [George Bernard Shaw], *London Music in 1888-89 as heard by Corno di Bassetto* (London: Constable and Company, 1937), p. 170.

¹⁰⁸ Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Autobiography*, translated from the German, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1865), ii, pp. 88-91.

¹⁰⁹ This concert would have been for the benefit of Pratten, there was clearly much support for her when she may have been in need just a few months after the death of her husband. Number eighteen, Carlton House Terrace remains today one of the largest private houses in London; in 2013 it was for sale for two hundred and fifty million pounds. See Emine Sinmaz, 'The £250 Million Home', *Daily Mail*, 22 April 2013.

P R O G R A M M E
OF
M^{ME}. R. SIDNEY PRATTEN'S
MATINEE MUSICALE,
AT
18, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE
BY THE KIND PERMISSION OF THEIR GRACES
THE DUKE & DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE,
AND UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF ROXBOROUGH,
THE COUNTESS GROSVENOR.
THE LADY SUSAN VANE TEMPEST,
THE LADY VICTORIA WELLESLEY,
THE LADY MARIA PONSONBY,
THE HONOURABLE MRS. RYDER,
THE HONOURABLE MRS. HOBART,
ON FRIDAY, JUNE 26. 1868,
TO COMMENCE AT THREE O'CLOCK,
When she will be assisted by the following eminent Artistes :
Mlle. TITIENS
(By kind permission of J. H. MAPLESON, Esq.),
Mlle. ROSE HERSEE
(By kind permission of J. H. MAPLESON, Esq.),
AND
Madame SAINTON DOLBY.
Signor NAUDIN and Signor GARDONI,
(By kind permission of F. GYE, Esq.),
Signor CIABATTA, and Mr. SANTLEY
(By kind permission of J. H. MAPLESON, Esq.).

THE ORPHEUS GLEE UNION.

Pianoforte: Miss MADELINA CRONIN & Signor MATTEI.
Guitar: Mme. R. SIDNEY PRATTEN.

Conductors :
Mr. BENEDICT, Signor VERA, Herr W. GANZ
and Signor ARDITI.

Tickets, One Guinea Each, and Three for Two Guineas.
To be had of Madame R. S. PRATTEN, 38, Welbeck Street,
Cavendish Square.

Figure 2:2. Notice of Madame Catharina Pratten's Concert on 26 June 1868.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Frank Mott Harrison, 'Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten', *The Troubadour*, September 1897, p. 150.

There is evidence that musicians and amateurs collaborated on more equal terms when making music together in private. The privacy of these events makes it hard to find information, but there are some descriptions. For example, William Gardiner refers to an occasion when Lord Saltoun and others played some of John Ella's arrangements of opera themes; the players included Saltoun, an amateur guitar player, and Ella on the violin.¹¹¹ In addition, aristocratic patrons were employing musicians throughout the nineteenth century.¹¹² Some, probably most, of these were engaged in domestic music making. John White was employed by the Duke of Harewood and a reference to his being part of a band with members of the family and household at Harewood house is cited by Troughton.¹¹³ This particular instance took place in 1799, but as White continued his work for the Duke until 1831 there were undoubtedly similar occasions subsequently. Another example is Stephen Jay, a violinist, who spent much of his career at Burton Constable Hall in East Yorkshire in the middle years of the century; he will be mentioned further in Chapter six. The exact nature of patronage would have varied, although Troughton makes the point that although, in her view, the musicians in these households

¹¹¹ William Gardiner, *Music and Friends; or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1838, 1853), ii (1838), 692. The concert would have taken place in the 1830s. Gardiner quoted the Duke of Wellington who reportedly said that 'I am never so pleased with Saltoun as when playing the guitar'. For Ella's involvement in amateur music making see Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture, John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 66-67.

¹¹² Rohr, *Careers*, p. 45.

¹¹³ Troughton, 'Role of Music' p. 94.

were servants, music acted as ‘a leveller and all members of the household were equal in the combined activity of performing music together.’¹¹⁴

There were some indications towards the end of the century that the status of musicians was improving. A poignant comment was made by the anonymous editor of *The Year's Music 1896* which said that ‘the musician [...] is an educated individual, far removed above the “professional” of a quarter century past’.¹¹⁵ The diplomas that became available began to give some respectability to a profession that had been unregulated and was overcrowded;¹¹⁶ music grade exams likewise helped to raise the status of music.¹¹⁷ The *London College of Music* offered two and the *International Union of Musicians* offered five exams for guitar in the 1890s. The most advanced of the latter was the Associate exam aiming high with a syllabus that included Pratten’s *Carnival de Venise*.¹¹⁸ The *Union*, which started out in 1894 as the *Guild of Violinists and Institute of Stringed-*

¹¹⁴ Troughton, ‘Role of Music’, p. 105. Troughton’s view that these musicians were servants may not always have been the case; listings in the census records reveal that their status could have been ambiguous. At Burton Constable Jay was listed in 1851 as a ‘visitor’ and his rank was a ‘gentleman’, he is grouped with other visitors and before any servants are listed. See census for Burton Constable Hall 1851, Public Record Office RG 9/3603. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/YRKHO107_2364_2365-0382> [accessed 23 March 2019]. Similarly, Eleanor Geary, worked in London as a musician in the 1840s after which there is no trace of her in the capital; she may then have entered the household of the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. In the 1861 census she is listed as a ‘companion’ with other visitors and before the servants at the Earl’s residence, Bradgate House. See 1861 census, Bradgate House, Leicestershire, Public Record Office RG 9/2266. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/LEIRG9_2262_2266-0712> [accessed 20 March 2019]. In the 1871 census she is listed at the Earl’s residence, Enville Hall, as a ‘visitor’ and is grouped with other visitors before the servants. See 1871 census, Enville Hall, Staffordshire, Public Record Office RG10/2928. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/STSRG10_2927_2929-0281> [accessed 20 March 2019]. Cave also notes that a music master’s social position was ambiguous, as it was for a governess. See Cave, ‘Piano Lessons’, p. 91.

¹¹⁵ *The Year’s Music 1896* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1896), p. v.

¹¹⁶ Wright, *Associated Board*, p. 33.

¹¹⁷ Wright, *Associated Board*, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ For a comparison of the syllabi for mandolin and guitar see ‘Examinations in Mandoline Playing’, *Troubadour*, June 1899, p. 119. For a description of the Guild of Violinists see Christina Bashford, ‘Hidden Agendas and the Creation of Community: The Violin Press in the Late Nineteenth Century’ in *Music Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain* ed. by Bennett Zon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) pp. 11-35 (pp. 29-31). The *Associated Board* did not introduce guitar exams until 1967, see Wright, *Associated Board*, p. 151.

Instrument Players, embraced guitar and mandolin players early on. By September 1895 its journal, *Strings*, noted that the Senate included, in addition to bowed string players, Madame Pratten, along with two well-known mandolinists of the time. They were Leopoldo Francia (1875-1918) from Milan who arrived in London in 1894 and Giacomo Marchisio (1865-1935) from Turin, who taught at Trinity College of Music.¹¹⁹ The Board of examiners included Frank Mott Harrison, his brother Richard Harrison, and Ernest Shand.¹²⁰ Shand (1868-1924) became the most prominent English guitarist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹²¹ All of these people were leading guitar or mandolin players at that time. However, it is unlikely that there was a huge uptake for the guitar exams as only one report of success has been found in the specialist periodicals; had anyone achieved a diploma this would have been announced.¹²²

There was less regard for the guitar than for most other instruments. The dislike of it was well aired in the musical press. Britton has outlined the prejudice in England in the first part of the century in bourgeois institutions and journals in particular.¹²³ William Ayrton, editor of *The Harmonicon*, had strong views; the guitar was 'in a private room, very delightful' when used for accompaniment.¹²⁴ However, if it were to attempt a place as a concert instrument it had major shortcomings and with its 'brilliant compositions [...] suited [...] to the concert-room, it then becomes as ineffective as a piping bullfinch perched on a trombone in the midst of a great military band'.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Paul Sparks, *The Classical Mandolin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 46, 87-89.

¹²⁰ 'Guild of Violinists and Institute of Stringed-Instrument Players', *Strings the Fiddler's Magazine*, September 1895, p. 109.

¹²¹ Button, *Guitar*, pp. 152, 157.

¹²² The success reported was for for Ethel Rodway who passed the senior division of an exam with the London College of Music. See 'Notes and Comments', *Banjo World*, April 1900, p. 81.

¹²³ Britton, 'Guitar', pp. 88-104.

¹²⁴ Review of J. Taylor, 'A Course of Preceptive Lessons for the Spanish Guitar', *The Harmonicon* March 1827, pp. 51-52.

¹²⁵ Review of Giuliani 'Three Rondos for Two Guitars', *The Harmonicon* February 1829, p. 48.

This dislike of the guitar was a recurring theme and it was noted in obituaries of good guitarists that their talents had been wasted on such an instrument. The *Musical Times* published one such in 1890 for Eulenstein with the title 'Perverted Talent'. It said: 'persons who make so much of unpromising materials would have made so much more of their talents had they devoted them to better tools; and in consequence of this view we are naturally disposed to look with a good deal of sympathy and commiseration upon such specimens of perverted talent'.¹²⁶

Erik Stenstadvold has suggested two issues that contributed to this dislike.¹²⁷ One is 'Musical Idealism', a movement described by Weber,¹²⁸ in which thinkers explored the aesthetic value of instrumental music which was for them, as Stenstadvold puts it, 'no longer seen as a source of entertainment'.¹²⁹ As the century progressed and with this thinking in mind the structure of concerts changed. The long miscellaneous events of the earlier part of the century gave way to shorter 'high art' concerts usually from a narrower repertoire of works by great composers.¹³⁰ The medleys of the earlier part of the period would have included some more serious items alongside what may be thought of as more popular things, often songs. The guitar slotted comfortably into such events. For example, on 17 June 1833 a certain Fanny Woodham gave a benefit concert. Included in the programme was Kiallmark playing Mendelssohn's first piano concerto with the composer present. Also performing was Elizabeth Mounsey in a guitar duet with her teacher Ferdinand Pelzer.¹³¹ Such an event would almost certainly have been unthinkable fifty years later as the guitar did not fit within these 'high art' concerts.

¹²⁶ 'Perverted Talent', *Musical Times*, 1 July 1890, pp. 399-400.

¹²⁷ Erik Stenstadvold, 'We hate the guitar': prejudice and polemic in the music press in early 19th-century Europe', *Early Music*, 41:4 (2013), 595 - 604.

¹²⁸ Weber, *Great Transformation*, p. 86.

¹²⁹ Stenstadvold, 'We hate the guitar', p. 596.

¹³⁰ William Weber, 'Miscellany vs. Homogeneity: Concert Programmes at the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music in the 1880s', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* ed. by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 299-320 (p. 300).

¹³¹ 'Miss Fanny Woodham's', *The Giulianiad*, [July] 1833, p. 50.

This change was part of the divide that developed between so called 'high art music' and 'popular music' as the century progressed, as described by Derek Scott.¹³² Russell acknowledges how difficult it is to give any definition of 'popular music' and for his purpose uses the term to refer to music of the 'majority of the population'.¹³³ Scott talks of how the word popular changed its meaning during the century from being merely well known to being successful in terms of sheet music sales.¹³⁴ Weber expanded the definition further by suggesting popular music was 'non-esoteric' and needed no special knowledge to appreciate it, while on the other hand high art music required knowledge and understanding to comprehend it.¹³⁵ Whatever definition is used the fact remains that contemporaries were aware of this divide by around 1860 when a writer in *Macmillan's Magazine* referred to a 'higher class of music'.¹³⁶

Weber stresses that this cultural divide did not relate to social class as both kinds of music had a wide social base.¹³⁷ Thus the guitar, with its most common use as an accompanying instrument, became aligned with popular music and yet was played among upper class and aristocratic amateurs. This popular position was reinforced by its particular technicalities. With its relatively small sound it could not match the increasing size and volume of the orchestras¹³⁸ nor did it lend itself well to the greater chromaticism of late nineteenth-century high art music.¹³⁹

¹³² Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 210.

¹³³ Russell, *Popular Music*, p. x.

¹³⁴ Derek Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 9.

¹³⁵ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p. 11.

¹³⁶ 'Classical Music and British Musical Taste', *Macmillan's Magazine*, March 1860, pp. 383-89 (p. 384).

¹³⁷ Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, p. 11. Scott makes the same point: 'high- and low-status music cannot be mapped directly onto high- and low-class consumers.' See Scott, *Sounds*, p. 9.

¹³⁸ Brookes, T., 'Roll Over Beethoven', *NYlon Review* (2005) <<http://nyccgs.com/2004/roll-over-beethoven/>> [accessed 5 July 2015].

¹³⁹ Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 50. Although the guitar is a fully chromatic instrument, Scott would be thinking of the way in which the usual tuning makes playing in keys with sharp key signatures, especially E and A, easier. Modulations to keys with flat key signatures are hard for less advanced players.

The second issue that Stenstadvold suggests contributed to the low status of the guitar was the gendering of instruments.¹⁴⁰ For much of the nineteenth century men generally played orchestral instruments, often the flute and violin. Women, however, were expected to play keyboard or plucked string instruments.¹⁴¹ Thus they often played the harp or guitar as well as the piano. For many girls, the learning of these instruments was an accomplishment which might not only help in the marriage market¹⁴² but could also enable them to move up the social ladder. Lady Amberley in 1868 noted that girls of 'plebian' class who had 'strong points in the way of beauty or music or conversation' could be welcomed into the highest society.¹⁴³ The guitar's position as a girl's instrument is illustrated by the way it was, on occasions, included in fashion plates that showed off the latest dress designs.¹⁴⁴

These gendered views of instruments became more relaxed towards the end of the century. From the 1870s women began to play the violin and in 1880 Lady Lindsay was reported to have suggested that soon instruments such as the guitar would be laid aside in favour of it.¹⁴⁵ By 1890 the violin had become highly fashionable for female players.¹⁴⁶

As the guitar was regarded as a suitable instrument for women for most of the nineteenth century its status was inextricably linked to the place that women held in society. Belief in women's intellectual inferiority was well established by 1800.¹⁴⁷ With music it was generally thought that they were better suited to the mechanical playing of

¹⁴⁰ Stenstadvold, 'We hate the guitar', p. 595.

¹⁴¹ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 46.

¹⁴² Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 268.

¹⁴³ *The Amberley Papers*, ed. by Bertrand Russell, 2 vols (1937) ii, 112. Quoted in: Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (London: Fontana Press, 1979). p. 275.

¹⁴⁴ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 80.

¹⁴⁵ Lady Lindsay, 'How to Play the Violin', *Girls Own Paper*, 10 April 1880, pp. 232-34.

¹⁴⁶ Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England 1870-1914* (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 107.

¹⁴⁷ Marcia Citron, 'Women and Lied 1775-1850' in *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950*. ed. by Jane Bowers, and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 224-48 (p. 226).

instruments and not to composition¹⁴⁸ and this view continued into the Edwardian years.¹⁴⁹ With this in mind the home was regarded as the place for women, and as work became more separated from the home, for the better off, the notion of separate spheres for men and women developed.¹⁵⁰ Women had a domestic sphere at home whilst the sphere of men was at work and was more public. The difference in their roles is illustrated by the way men took leadership with the public side of concerts even though many women were involved with music. For example, Weber has noted that in 1848 whilst fifty-eight of the subscribers to the Musical Union were women, men held all the offices of classical music societies.¹⁵¹ The guitar, a woman's instrument was therefore, as Britton puts it, 'inseparable from the devaluation and trivialisation of women's musical activities by European society in general'.¹⁵² As if to reinforce this low status of the instrument, high standards of performance by girls were not generally encouraged. Modesty was preferable to excessive display.¹⁵³

Amidst the population increase during the nineteenth century there was a great expansion of musical activity. Domestic music thrived and largely had a social function. However, the development that was significant for understanding the perception of the guitar was the schism that developed between so-called high art and popular music in the later Victorian years. The guitar was part of the latter side.

2.3. The Economics of learning

The economics of learning the guitar will give useful insights into who could learn and play it. The one-off cost of an instrument and the cost of continuing maintenance with strings will be considered here. Not many price lists have survived, but it has been possible to

¹⁴⁸ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 26.

¹⁵⁰ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 99.

¹⁵¹ Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, p. 54.

¹⁵² Britton, 'Guitar', p. 99.

¹⁵³ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 47.

glean some figures from those that have. The cost of lessons will be discussed in chapter four.

It is possible to make comparisons between different parts of this time period because, although there were significant fluctuations in inflation from year to year usually associated with harvests or wars, there was not a long term steady increase in prices in the way that there was in the twentieth century. It has been shown how the average purchasing power of the pound changed little on average over the century in spite of some deflation in the 1870s and 1880s. Using January 1974 as an index with the purchasing power of the pound as 100 pence, this purchasing power was 1,124.7 pence in 1822 and in 1892 it was 1,123.8 pence.¹⁵⁴ The figures are useful although they must be looked at with some caution because there are difficulties comparing expenditure patterns that inevitably change over a long period.

One of the earliest lists to show the price of Spanish guitars is that of Clementi in 1823. In it, the prices range from £5 15s 6d to eight guineas, including cases. A little later the most important guitar maker in London, Louis Panormo, marked on his labels that he offered 'Guitars of every description from 2 to 15 Guineas', (Figure 2:3). He began putting this in instruments made in 1828 and continued to use this exact wording until approximately 1854.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Grahame Allen, 'Inflation: The Value of the Pound 1750-2001', *House of Commons Library Research Paper 03/82* (2003).

¹⁵⁵ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', p. 104.



Figure 2:3. Label of a guitar by Louis Panormo dated 1843.

With the decline in interest in the guitar from the mid 1830s¹⁵⁶ some advertisements offered 'cheap' guitars. One such was in 1837 when the publisher Wybrow offered music at half price and 'improved Spanish Guitars very cheap'.¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately the actual prices were not listed.¹⁵⁸

In the middle of the century there is evidence of a variety of prices. At the upper end Boosey and Company advertised guitars that were approved by Madame Pratten. Prices varied from seven to twelve guineas.¹⁵⁹ At the other end of the social scale Henry Mayhew noted that street traders were selling musical instruments that would have been secondhand. Although most of them were violins he conceded that guitars were also sold with prices ranging from seven shillings and sixpence to fifteen shillings. Some of these instruments may have been of dubious quality. Mayhew described how some cheap

¹⁵⁶ Button, *Guitar*, p. 118.

¹⁵⁷ 'Advertisements', *The Satirist or the Censor of the Times*, 26 March 1837, p. 513.

¹⁵⁸ Page has noted how guitars could, in addition in the Georgian period, be obtained from pawnbrokers' shops and auctions. See Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 222.

¹⁵⁹ 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 21 March 1857, p. 191.

violins were ‘duffed’, or discoloured, to make them look old and therefore command higher prices.¹⁶⁰ He does not mention if guitars were treated in the same way.

Towards the end of the century prices continued to fall; many of those on offer were cheap imports from abroad mostly from Saxony in Germany, Mirecourt in France and Valencia in Spain.¹⁶¹ Second hand ones were apparently available for twenty-five or thirty shillings in 1881.¹⁶² By 1895 Joseph Riley and Son were advertising instruments from five shillings and six pence with peg heads or eight shillings and sixpence with machine heads.¹⁶³ Better instruments were the ‘French Model[s], as used by the late Madame Sidney Pratten’, of J G Winder in Kentish Town priced from three pounds fifteen shillings to twelve pounds.¹⁶⁴ Barnes and Mullins advertised a ‘Lacote’ model based on the fashionable French instruments of the earlier part of the century for eight guineas.¹⁶⁵

The cost of a guitar was a one-off expense and the instrument was usually meant to last, as the teacher Eleanor Geary carefully pointed out in her guide to Musical Education: ‘The Guitar first placed in the hands of a pupil should be the one intended for her *future* as well as her *present* use’.¹⁶⁶ In contrast the cost of maintaining the instrument would have been a frequent expense. Whereas there were many advertisements offering cheap guitars and discounted music, no advertisement for discounted strings has so far been seen.¹⁶⁷ The top three gut strings in particular posed problems because, unlike today’s

¹⁶⁰ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols (London: Griffin Bohn, 1851-62), II (1861), p. 19.

¹⁶¹ Westbrook, *Guitar Making*, p. 315.

¹⁶² ‘Answers to Correspondents’, *Girl’s Own Paper*, 10 September 1881, p. 16.

¹⁶³ Joseph Riley and Sons advertisement, *Banjo World*, March 1895, p. iii.

¹⁶⁴ *Winder’s Catalogue*.

¹⁶⁵ Advertisement for ‘Barnes and Mullins’s “Perfect” “Lacote” Model’, *Troubadour*, December 1899, p. 235. The prices of guitars were less than those for piano. See Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3.

¹⁶⁶ Eleanor Geary, *Musical Education; with Practical Observations on the Art of Piano-Forte Playing*, 2nd edn (London: D’Almaine and Co., 1851), p. 81. The italics are those of the author.

¹⁶⁷ For a description of the way music was often sold at discounted prices in the later Victorian years see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1.

nylon ones, they were susceptible to changes in humidity. A Neapolitan price list of 1834 shows that the first violin string could be used as a second on the guitar whilst the first guitar string was even thinner and thus more fragile.¹⁶⁸ There are a few contemporary references to these problems. It was commented in 1833 that strings would frequently snap prior to a rainfall because the extra humidity shortened them.¹⁶⁹ Later in the century a correspondent was advised that guitar strings are liable to break, are always affected by weather, and should be unstrung at night, presumably in the hope that they may be preserved.¹⁷⁰ Several tutor books recommended tuning the guitar a tone low, the reasons often given, as Catharina Pratten did, were to improve tone and avoid the 'inconvenience' of them breaking'.¹⁷¹ William Ballantine, who played and taught banjo and guitar, added that in damp weather breakages could be avoided with this lower tuning.¹⁷² An effort to improve them was illustrated in a public demonstration by one of the Spanish Ciebra brothers in 1839. Some ordinary and some new patent strings from Barelli that, it was claimed, would not be affected by changes in humidity were all placed in boiling water. Only the latter ones survived. However, the reviewer noted that on the violin the sound of the new strings was greatly inferior.¹⁷³ As no other reference to these strings has been seen it seems safe to assume that they were not a success.

Prices of strings varied throughout the century. In 1823 sets of Spanish Guitar strings were listed at one shilling and ninepence in the Erat harp ledger.¹⁷⁴ In October 1828 *The*

¹⁶⁸ Patrizio Barbieri, 'Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950', *Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006), 147-81.

¹⁶⁹ 'Popular Information on Science - Rain', *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, 16 March 1833, p. 55.

¹⁷⁰ 'Answers to Correspondents', *Girl's Own Paper*, 7 April 1894, p. 432.

¹⁷¹ Catharina Pratten, *Learning the Guitar Simplified* (London: The Author, 1874), p. 3.

¹⁷² William Ballantine, *Ballantine's Guitar Tutor* (London: The Author, 1886-89), p. 9.

¹⁷³ 'Theatres', *John Bull*, 15 September 1839, p. 442. For further details of 'Barelli's Patent Foreign Strings'. See James Westbrook, 'The Creation of the American X-Braced Guitar: A British Perspective', *American Lutherie* 121 (2015), 4-15, (p. 9).

¹⁷⁴ London, The National Archives: 'Master Horne's Exhibits', C110/99, 6 December 1823. I am grateful to Mike Baldwin for drawing my attention to this.

Harmonicon carried an advertisement of Johanning and Ferry in which two sets of guitar strings in a patent box were on offer for twelve shillings, the box itself may have inflated the price.¹⁷⁵ Mid century Boosey and Company offered to sell strings separately, the cost of a complete set coming to five shillings.¹⁷⁶ In 1887 strings from Guiver and Company were recommended at a price of two shillings and sixpence.¹⁷⁷ In 1894 Barnes and Mullins also offered strings separately with a set coming to three shillings and fourpence.¹⁷⁸ By the end of the century J G Winder advertised sets of strings from one shilling and sixpence to three shillings and ninepence.¹⁷⁹ The purchase of good strings was generally recommended. For example Carli, in his tutor book, advised players that they should 'always buy the best strings. It is better in every way'.¹⁸⁰ It may have been the case that better strings lasted longer. No exact reference to how long they would last has been found although Eulenstein stated that those still on a guitar after ten or twelve months would lose elasticity and would need to be replaced.¹⁸¹ The way he phrased this implies that many did break before ten months had passed.

2.4. Which classes could afford to play?

The issue of class will be mentioned in several places in this thesis. It is important here because it was highly significant to the Victorians themselves. It is thought that the early nineteenth century was a time in which 'class consciousness' was more widespread than

¹⁷⁵ 'Advertisements', *The Harmonicon*, October 1828, wrapper.

¹⁷⁶ 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 21 March 1857, p. 191. The first and second strings, which were more likely to break, cost eightpence each.

¹⁷⁷ 'The Guitar', *Queen, the Lady's Newspaper*, 29 January 1887, p. 133.

¹⁷⁸ 'Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Strings', *The Jo*, December 1894, p. 86. The first and second strings cost sixpence each.

¹⁷⁹ *J. G. Winder's Illustrated & Descriptive Catalogue*.

¹⁸⁰ A. Carli, *Morley's Guitar Tutor* (London: Morley, 1885-1889), p. 6.

¹⁸¹ Charles Eulenstein, *New Practical Method for the Guitar* (London: Brewer, 1837-40), p. 3.

at any time before or after.¹⁸² To accompany this ‘consciousness’ was a recognition of the fluidity of the class structure such that movement, preferably upwards, was both possible and desirable. As G. M. Young so eloquently put it, ‘English society accepted the social structure [...] as a community of families, all rising, or to be raised, to a higher respectability’.¹⁸³ The fluidity and belief in ‘removable inequalities’ through self help and hard work was apparent in the way many emulated their supposed betters.¹⁸⁴ This emulation motivated the middle class and with it they felt the need to ‘adopt the preferences of their betters’.¹⁸⁵

However, defining the class structure that many Victorians were so concerned about is not straightforward. Cannadine has described three different interpretations of this that had first been outlined in 1768 by Montpelier, a French writer describing his own town. Of these a ‘hierarchical’ model that had held sway in the eighteenth century continued to be popular in the nineteenth century. In this people were ordered seamlessly according to rank with prestige given to those who were considered to be at the top of the scale.¹⁸⁶ Giulia Pelzer was no doubt thinking in these terms when she was ‘determined that the guitar shall not lose caste if any efforts of hers can improve its status’.¹⁸⁷ In other words she was attempting to keep the somewhat exclusive image of the instrument that her sister, Catharina Pratten, had attempted to maintain.¹⁸⁸ Giulia Pelzer would have been concerned with the apparent widening of the social background of amateur guitarists in

¹⁸² David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 57.

¹⁸³ G. M. Young, *Portrait of an Age*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 13.

¹⁸⁴ Walter Bagehot referred to ‘removable inequalities’; quoted in Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (London: Fontana Press, 1979), p. 255.

¹⁸⁵ Nicholas Temperley, ‘Xenophilia in British Musical History’, in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, i (1999), 3-19, (p. 12). This social emulation of one’s betters is well described in relation to the piano in Cyril Ehrlich, *Social Emulation and Industrial Progress - The Victorian Piano, an Inaugural Lecture* (Belfast: Queen’s University of Belfast, 1975), p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Cannadine, *Class*, p. 19.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Gossip’, *Troubadour*, May 1901, p. 107.

¹⁸⁸ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 72.

the 1890s. This broadening was noticeable at the Girls' Institute of the Regent Street Polytechnic where guitar and mandolin lessons were given; most of the girls there were from the rising numbers of clerks or shop girls.¹⁸⁹ In London and the Home Counties the number of clerks in employment in 1891 was almost 180,000 rising to 260,000 in 1901; in the same period the proportion of women in these figures rose from eight to fifteen per cent. These women would usually have worked in the more routine jobs and were paid half or three-quarters of the rate paid to men.¹⁹⁰ The shop girls would have worked in department stores that had opened in the later part of the century providing employment for women. Another institution that offered music lessons for these working women was the *Grosvenor Ladies' Arts and Crafts Studios* which offered evening classes in addition to day time classes for 'ladies engaged during the day'.¹⁹¹

An alternative view is to see the structure of society in three discrete groups of people divided according to their wealth and occupations. In this model the place of a middle class bourgeoisie is apparent and because incomes are scrutinised it is more useful here in considering who could afford to play musical instruments. However, a definition of what was middle class is not easy. Best suggests that those with an income of £150 a year or more in the mid-Victorian years would have qualified as middle class; they would, crucially, have been able to employ domestic help.¹⁹² Temperley enlarged on this by adding that a middle class home would be one that had a room used only for leisure activities.¹⁹³ Such a household from the end of the century was well depicted fictionally by

¹⁸⁹ Ethel Wood, *The Polytechnic and its Founder Quintin Hogg*, rev. edn (London: Nisbet, 1932), p. 158. For a description of guitar teaching at the Polytechnic see below Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Ball and David Sutherland, *An Economic History of London 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 326-27.

¹⁹¹ 'Sale and Exchange', *Hearth and Home*, 16 December 1897, p. 236. For a full description see below Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4.

¹⁹² Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p.102. This is the qualifying income for middle class status used by Britton who notes that with this definition neither labourers or schoolmasters would have been able to afford guitars and music whereas clerks, clergymen and solicitors would have in 1835. See Britton, 'Guitar', p. 115.

¹⁹³ Nicholas Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in *The Romantic Age 1800-1914* ed. by Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press 1981), pp. 109-34 (p. 116).

George and Weedon Grossmith in 1888 in their *Diary of a Nobody* in which the hapless Mr Pooter lives in a house with a 'breakfast-parlour', a new cottage piano from Collard and Collard, and a servant called Sarah.¹⁹⁴ On the basis that those who employed servants were middle class then it can be shown that this class expanded because the numbers in domestic service increased. In England and Wales the percentage of the occupied population that was in domestic service was 13.3 percent in 1851 and 15.7 per cent in 1881.¹⁹⁵ Not only did the number of people in this group expand but their spending power also increased with a rise in real wages accompanied by falling prices from the mid 1870s until the mid 1890s.¹⁹⁶

The bar was placed a little higher in January 1858 when the correspondence columns of *The Times* debated whether an income of £300 per annum was sufficient for a reasonable lifestyle and marriage. It was noted by a correspondent that an annual income of just over £237 was enough although the wife would have to be frugal and herself make most of the family's clothes. A breakdown of this annual income left, after essentials were paid, just over thirty pounds for 'travelling and books' and presumably music if desired.¹⁹⁷ A guitar could be afforded only if a similarly frugal approach were adopted when choosing lessons, music, and strings.¹⁹⁸

It would be safe to assume that upper middle class households would have been able to afford the trappings of music. It is another issue altogether whether the so-called working class could also have done. Included here are the labouring poor and the better off skilled

¹⁹⁴ George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody*, with introduction and notes by Michael Irwin (Ware: Wordsworth, 1994), pp. 31-32, 53. The piano was purchased on the 'three years' system', in other words hire-purchase.

¹⁹⁵ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 99.

¹⁹⁶ Ball and Sutherland, *Economic History*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁷ 'Frugal Marriages', *The Times*, 25 January 1858. A similar picture was illustrated in 1901, also for an annual income of £237 in which £10 was left for sundries, amusements, bus fares, books etc. See G. S. Layard 'Family Budgets. II A Lower-Middle-Class Budget', *Cornhill Magazine*, May 1901, pp. 656-66.

¹⁹⁸ For details of the cost of lessons see below Chapter 4, Section 4.2., and Table 4:1. Britton notes that in 1835 clerks, clergymen and lawyers could all have been described as middle class but that only the last would easily have afforded guitar lessons for a daughter. See Britton, 'Guitar', p. 117.

artisans. This last group was small and in the early Victorian years would have been earning between £78 and £104 a year.¹⁹⁹ However, at the lowest end were the large numbers of the labouring poor. Harrison illustrates the expenses of one such earning fifteen shillings a week in 1841. After essentials are paid fivepence halfpenny (just under one pound and four shillings a year) is left for 'sundries' which would have included clothes and provision for sickness as well as entertainment.²⁰⁰ There might seem little left to buy a guitar and its strings with this, particularly if one remembers that for many, employment was not continuous. Mayhew, in the 1850s noted that only one third of workers were constantly employed.²⁰¹

Incomes rose in the century, notably towards the end. However, Sara Howell has shown that, although the labouring households benefited, they largely spent the increase on food and drink. The more exotic items remained the domain of the wealthier.²⁰² Besides which, the benefit of rising incomes in the 1870s and 1880s was tempered by both rising unemployment and the declining numbers of women and children working and contributing to household budgets.²⁰³

To accompany rising incomes literacy was improving; the ability of people to sign marriage registers is a common way to measure this. In 1840, in England and Wales, just under fifty percent of women and thirty-three percent of men were unable to sign their names; the figures fell greatly by the end of the century as education became more universal.²⁰⁴ Literacy is not, of course, necessary for playing a musical instrument. One

¹⁹⁹ J. F. C. Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain, 1832-51* (London: Fontana, 1979), p. 35.

²⁰⁰ Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain*, p. 73.

²⁰¹ Patrick Joyce, 'People and their Environments', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain* ed by F.M.L. Thompson, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), ii, 131-94 (p. 144).

²⁰² Sara Howell, 'Consumption 1700-1870' in *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, ed. by Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries and Paul Johnson, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), i, 237-63 (p. 261).

²⁰³ Mathias Morys, 'Cycles and Depressions', in *Cambridge Economic History*, ii, 229-254 (p.243). Peter Scott, 'The Household Economy since 1870', in *Cambridge Economic History*, ii, 362-86 (p. 366).

²⁰⁴ Gillian Sutherland, 'Education' in *Cambridge Social History*, iii, 119-70 (p.122-24).

advertisement has been found from a teacher offering to teach guitar and banjo accompaniments by ear.²⁰⁵ It is possible that other teachers taught in the same way but would not have used advertisements. As literacy rose so did the available leisure hours. In 1874 factory working hours were reduced to fifty-six and a half and by then the Saturday half holiday was established.²⁰⁶

There is evidence that some of the less well-off played the guitar in spite of the costs. For example, a servant girl reportedly lost her job because she asked for time off for a guitar lesson.²⁰⁷ A French street musician was reported strumming a guitar while a poodle danced.²⁰⁸ Another report of street musicians is more telling. A guitarist and double bass player spent ten minutes attempting and failing to tune their instruments; they then commenced playing regardless.²⁰⁹ This incident also illustrates the problems that performance on the guitar in the open air could pose with tuning and can explain why other instruments were usually employed by street musicians.

Some contemporary writers commented that the guitar did not achieve great popularity among the lower classes. Thus, the little known teacher Giovanni Luigi observed in his *Instruction Book* of 1842, that 'although [the guitar] has become a favorite Instrument in the higher circles of society, it has not yet attained the universal popularity in England, it so generally commands on the continent'.²¹⁰ For those with low incomes the difficulty of tuning would not have been the only problem; the cost of keeping an instrument strung must have been a consideration. However, these players may not have had formal lessons or bought method books and they therefore largely fall outside the areas of investigation of my thesis.

²⁰⁵ 'Advertisements', *Funny Folks*, 20 July 1878, p. 231.

²⁰⁶ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 137.

²⁰⁷ 'Curiosities of Advertising', *John Bull*, 17 June 1865, p. 20. This account is also quoted in Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 219.

²⁰⁸ 'The Man about Town', *Sporting Gazette*, 14 April 1866, pp. 11-12.

²⁰⁹ 'London's Unmusical Season', *Punch*, 28 May 1864, p. 9.

²¹⁰ Giovanni Luigi, *Luigi's New Instruction Book for the Guitar* (London: Ransford, 1842), p. 1.

2.5. Conclusion

The Victorian guitar with six single strings had been established in this country by 1800. It was a little smaller than the classical guitar of today and in the first half of the nineteenth century was referred to as the Spanish guitar.

This thesis will be concerned with amateur players; domestic music flourished throughout the nineteenth century, often having greater social than musical importance. To facilitate this there was an abundance of professional musicians many of whom associated with upper-class amateurs by performing in their houses and by making music with them; the guitar was part of this activity. However, the instrument was disliked by some. It was demeaned as a woman's instrument and, as the century developed, became aligned with popular music and not the 'high art' music with which the author in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was concerned. The guitar was therefore not so much near oblivion as out of sight for this author.

The enquiry into who many amateurs were will be continued in depth in later chapters. However, it was noted here that, regardless of how one defines class, significant income would usually be needed not only for the one-off expense of buying the instrument but also for the continuing expenses of maintaining it with strings, taking lessons, and purchasing music. A greater number of people from a wider social spectrum would have been able to afford these costs towards the end of the Victorian era as real wages rose and prices fell.

Chapter Three

Guitar Teachers: Part One Who taught the Guitar?

There were guitar teachers in London throughout the nineteenth century and their activities are one of the clearest indications that interest in the guitar was maintained. This investigation will look at evidence confirming that the guitar was being taught and then consider what this evidence reveals about the amateurs who took lessons. The first part will discuss the identity of the teachers. The second part will examine where they gave lessons, followed by a discussion of how they managed their occupations in a competitive market place. Arriving at an overall picture of their careers is not easy, however, for two broad reasons: many worked in some obscurity and secondly, many incorporated their teaching into working lives which included several varied occupations. But before these issues are addressed it is important to understand the environment in which teachers worked.

3.1. Introduction

Lives of music teachers, and indeed musicians in general, were not easy in the nineteenth century. There is some evidence that guitarists at times suffered destitution, often in older age, in the same way as other instrumentalists. Job insecurity, unemployment, low earnings, illness, and old age could all lead to hardship, although some were catered for by institutions.²¹¹ The most prominent of these was the Royal Society of Musicians which was founded in 1738 and established a fund to help 'Decayed musicians or their Families' if in need.²¹² Those who had exhausted all other options could turn to poor relief; prior to

²¹¹ For an account of how nearly all musicians encountered destitution at some point see Rohr, *Careers*, pp. 157-60.

²¹² Pippa Drummond, 'The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century', *Music and Letters* 59:3 (1978), 268-89, (p. 268). The Society continues today to give help to musicians in need.

1834 assistance was provided while they continued to live in their own home but after 1834 the workhouse was all that was on offer.²¹³

Detailed biographical information is not available for many guitar teachers, although no record of any of them entering a workhouse has been seen. Those that encountered difficulties included, in the early part of the period, James Taylor (1787-1864), who received help from the Royal Society of Musicians which included a grant of eight pounds for his wife's funeral expenses.²¹⁴ Later, in 1873 Ann Bartholomew recommended that Eliza Henchy (née Conroy) (1801-1879), a pianist and guitarist,²¹⁵ be considered for help from the Society because 'many of us know that [Mrs Henchy] is in very straightened circumstances'.²¹⁶ Others were not fortunate to have such help. For example, when Ferdinand Pelzer's wife, Maria, died in 1863 she suffered the 'ultimate disgrace', as Thompson describes it, of a burial in Saint Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, in a common grave, in other words a pauper's grave.²¹⁷

For some, debts accumulated and could lead to imprisonment. Debt was a feature of everyday life; it was usual for people to have accounts with tradesmen such as grocers and bakers. These accounts would normally be settled regularly at mutually agreed times, but when they were not paid debts resulted. Until 1861 only traders could become

²¹³ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History*, pp. 370-72.

²¹⁴ London, Royal Society of Musicians, James Taylor A229, letter from Taylor, 12 November 1852. He published *A Course of Preceptive Lessons for the Spanish Guitar* [1826] and played the harp and violin. It seems very likely that he also taught guitar although no specific reference to this has been found. He is therefore not included here in the list of teachers in Appendix A.

²¹⁵ *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain List of Members 1738-1984*, compiled by Betty Matthews (London: The Royal Society of Musicians, 1985), p. 166.

²¹⁶ London, Royal Society of Musicians, RSFM Eliza Conroy, Letter dated September 1873 from Ann Bartholomew to Mr. Stanley. The Royal Society of Female Musicians was launched in 1840 and was amalgamated with the Royal Society of Musicians in 1866. Ann Bartholomew Mounsey was one of the former's earliest members.

²¹⁷ I am grateful to staff at Saint Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, London, for this information. (Personal communication 24 July 2008). For an account of the Victorian attitude to a pauper burial see F. M. L. Thompson *The Rise of Respectable Society* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 200.

bankrupt and have their debt written off; individuals in debt became insolvent debtors.²¹⁸ One creditor could have an insolvent debtor arrested and then imprisoned in a debtor's prison. Among the guitar teachers, James Galbreath (1791-1850), who also taught German flute, singing, and pianoforte,²¹⁹ was in prison for debt in 1840.²²⁰ Alexander Sosson from France, who taught both French and music, was in debt in 1833 and 1858.²²¹ While laziness and carelessness were viewed as causes of debt, there was at the same time some sympathy for those in trouble. Marie Kent, in her work on the piano industry, noted that bankruptcy did not prevent people from starting business again.²²² There is some evidence from the guitarists that supports Kent's observation. Sosson had recovered sufficiently from his imprisonment in 1833 such that in 1840 he could insure his possessions for a sum of four hundred pounds²²³ and by 1851 was a boarding school master in a school in Kentish Town.²²⁴

In order to make their livings in this uncertain world musicians were entrepreneurial, diversifying into other activities.²²⁵ Most of the guitar teachers were doing other things besides teaching the guitar; many performed, taught other instruments, published music, traded with instruments, and some worked in professions that had nothing to do with music.

²¹⁸ For issues concerned with bankruptcy and insolvency see Marie Kent, 'Exposing the London Piano Industry Workforce (c1765-1914)' (PhD thesis, London Metropolitan University, 2013), pp. 141-207. After 1861 individuals could apply for bankruptcy. Imprisonment for debt was ended in 1869.

²¹⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 25 February 1829.

²²⁰ 'Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors', *London Gazette*, 1 December 1840.

²²¹ 'Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors', *London Gazette*, 13 August 1833, 19 October 1858.

²²² Kent, 'London Piano Industry', p. 155.

²²³ London, London Metropolitan Archives, Records of Sun Fire Office, Insured, Thomas Alexander Sosson 106 Park Street Camden Town Middlesex Gent, MS 11936/571/1339147.

²²⁴ 1851 census, Bartholomew Place, Kentish Town, Public Record Office HO107/1498. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1498_1498-0238> [accessed 23 March 2019].

²²⁵ Rohr, *Careers*, p. 152.

To understand the history of the guitar and its tuition in England it is essential to realise that it is inextricably linked to the history of women in the nineteenth century. Music teaching was one of the few respectable occupations open to middle class women who might need to earn a living.²²⁶ One cause of this need was the so called surplus of women which became noticeable in the second half of the century; the ideal of marriage was unobtainable for many because there were more women than there were available men, as shown in the census figures.²²⁷ For example, in 1851 amongst the age group from twenty-five to twenty-nine year olds there were 906 men per thousand women in England. In 1861 this figure had reduced to 879.²²⁸

There is an indication of hardship and almost desperation in some of the advertisements of women seeking work. Miss Chambers taught singing and guitar in the 1830s and noted that she was doing so because her father, a banker, had not received money from assignees and she therefore had to support herself and her parents.²²⁹ Her father was Abraham Chambers, who had included the King's theatre amongst the properties he owned.²³⁰ The census of 1841 shows that he was at that point imprisoned in the Fleet prison at the age of 75.²³¹ The daughter was probably Mary and her interest in the guitar could have been fuelled by hearing the famous Italian guitarist Ferdinando Carulli

²²⁶ Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 11.

²²⁷ Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 11.

²²⁸ Michael Anderson, 'Social Implications of Demographic Change', in *Cambridge Social History*, ii, 1-70 (pp. 9-10). Anderson notes that the high level of net emigration was a major cause of this imbalance, most of the emigrants being young men.

²²⁹ 'Miss Chambers, the Banker's Daughter', *Morning Post*, 23 January 1837.

²³⁰ Daniel Nalbach, *The King's Theatre* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1972), p. 97.

²³¹ 1841 census, Fleet prison, London, Public Record Office HO 107/726/6. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/MDXHO107_725_727-0359> [accessed 21 August 2018].

(1770-1841) play at the King's Theatre in 1823, at the time when her father owned the building.²³²

A little later Catherine Chapman, a daughter of the Earl of Longford, was in debtors' prison. However, there was debate in court as to whether she should be permitted to keep her guitar, which she could do if it was regarded as a tool of trade and needed in order to give lessons.²³³ Advertisements from ladies seeking homes and little or no more in exchange for tuition appeared regularly. For example, in 1862 an English lady aged twenty-three desired a comfortable home and no salary in exchange for a few hours daily teaching of German, piano, guitar, or singing.²³⁴ In 1841 a young lady asked for 'only a very small salary' and a comfortable home, in exchange for which she offered to give tuition in French, harp, or guitar.²³⁵

3.2. Who taught the Guitar?

There are several sources of evidence about guitar teachers, the first coming from twentieth-century writers. A tentative list of teachers, who are referred to in both the second edition of *The Guitar and Mandolin* by Philip Bone and *The Guitar in England 1800-1926* by Stewart Button, includes individuals who were prominent as performers. Only those for whom a clear reference confirming that they also taught the instrument have been included; they are the most visible teachers from that period to us today.²³⁶ Twenty-two names were found and an attempt to show when they were active teaching in England is given in Table 2:1. Although this shows how long their teaching careers

²³² Mary is listed in the 1851 census living with her father. 1851 census, Park Cottage, Paddington, Public Record Office HO/107/1466. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1466_1466-0335> [accessed 21 August 2018]. For a notice of Carulli's concert see 'King's Theatre', *The Times*, 20 May 1823.

²³³ 'Alleged Fraudulent Concealment of Goods by an Insolvent', *Morning Post*, 26 September 1859.

²³⁴ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 26 March 1862.

²³⁵ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 10 February 1841.

²³⁶ Philip Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin* 2nd edn (London: Schott, 1954). Button, *Guitar*.

probably were this table does not necessarily illustrate the extent of guitar teaching that was undertaken because most of the teachers were also involved in other occupations. It is likely in the 1850s and 1860s, when interest in the guitar was less, that they would have been devoting more time to these other activities.

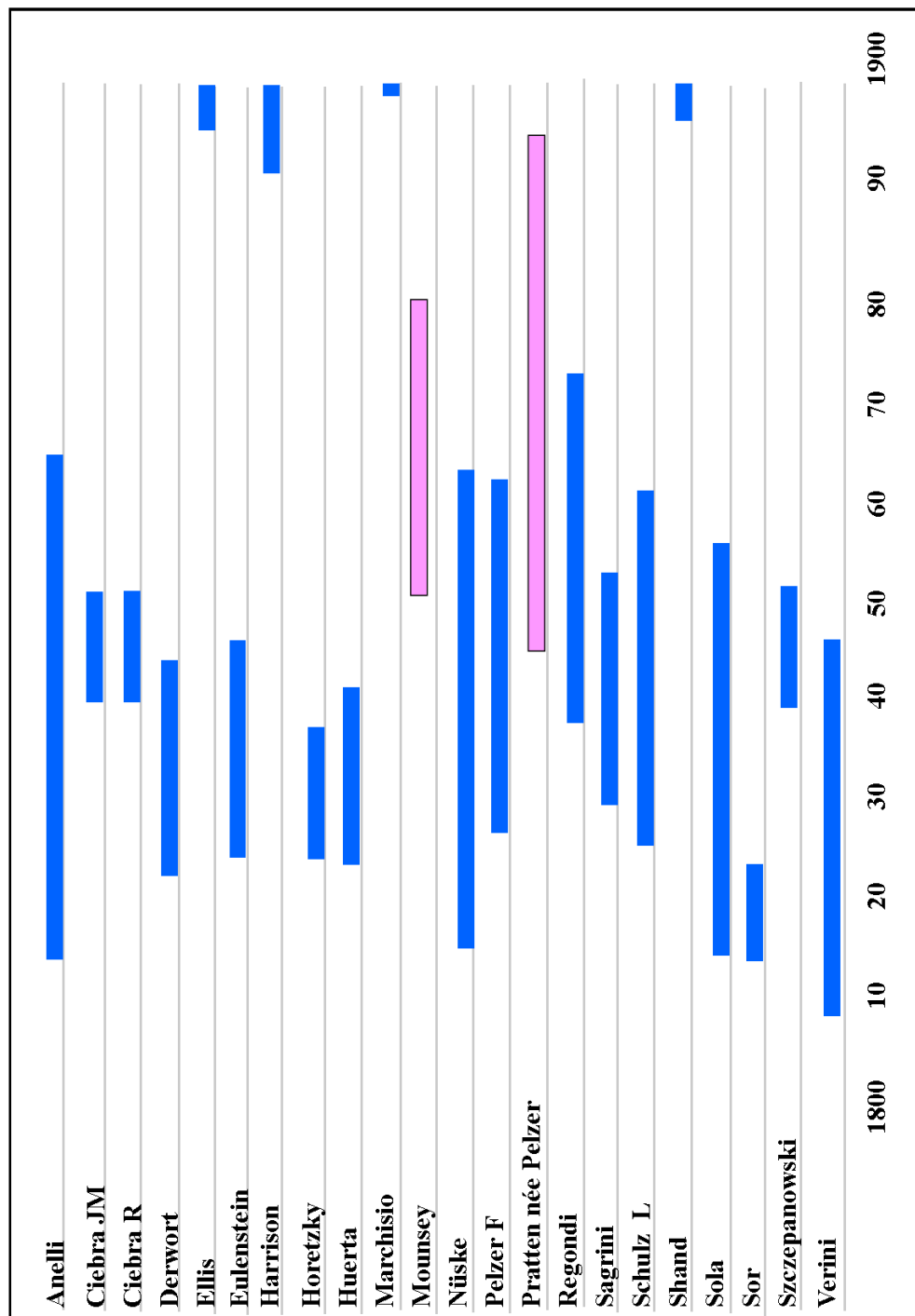


Table 3:1. Teachers referred to by both Bone and Button, showing the approximate periods when they were living and probably teaching in England. The sources of information are given in Appendix B. (Blue lines indicate men, pink lines indicate women).

The table illustrates two important facts. Firstly, the prevalence of foreign musicians in the first half of the century is clear; not one of them was born in England, confirming Ehrlich's view that foreigners dominated the profession.²³⁷

Birth places of the teachers working prior to 1850 in table 3:1.

Austria: L. Schulz.
Germany: Derwort, Eulenstein, F. Pelzer, Pratten.
Italy: Anelli, Sagrini, Sola, Verini.
Poland: Horetzky, Szczepanowski.
Russia: Nüske.
Spain: J. M. Ciebra, R. Ciebra, Huerta, Sor.
Switzerland: Regondi.

Their first port of call in England would have been London, which, in the early nineteenth century was the largest and richest city in the world giving many opportunities for concert giving and teaching.²³⁸ Some would have come as economic migrants because the situation in their own countries was not conducive to supporting careers as solo guitarists. There would have been a number of reasons for this. Jeffery has outlined how many Spaniards fled from the oppressive regime in their country between 1813 and 1830.²³⁹ In Italy some Italians left their country because of the difficult economic time after the end of the Napoleonic wars in northern Italy.²⁴⁰ Heck has described some additional problems guitarists faced. He notes that although there were opportunities for guitars as accompanying instruments they did not fit well into the large theatres; the smaller salons of northern European cities provided more suitable environments. In addition, those that wanted to publish their music would be aware that these other countries had more and better publishing houses.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 16.

²³⁸ For a summary of the attraction of London see Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', p. 10.

²³⁹ Jeffery, *Sor*, p. 49.

²⁴⁰ For a summary of the economic situation in northern Italy see Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History*, p. 53.

²⁴¹ Thomas Heck, *Mauro Giuliani: Virtuoso Guitarist and Composer* (Columbus: Editions Orphée, 1995); rev. edn, as *Mauro Giuliani: A Life for the Guitar* (Palos Verdes Peninsula: Guitar Foundation of America, 2013), chapter 2, part 3. Kindle edition.

Many guitarists were able to find employment in London without too much difficulty because there was a distinct preference for foreign musicians by the upper-class English. One inevitable consequence of this was that some English musicians made attempts to appear foreign, one journal referring to an English guitar teacher who was struggling noted that he became very successful after 'Italianising' his name.²⁴² However, how 'foreign' some of these guitarists actually were varied as some moved to England when they were young and stayed for the remainders of their lives. For example, Catharina Pratten arrived when she was a child aged four and then stayed. Trinidad Huerta (1800-1874), a flamboyant virtuoso, on the other hand merely visited several times in between tours to other countries, before finally returning to Spain.²⁴³

The second issue that Table 3:1 illustrates so clearly is the one of gender; out of the twenty-two teachers only two are women. Given that the guitarists on this list were singled out essentially for their skills as performers this proportion is not surprising. In the Victorian years girls were strongly discouraged from pursuing careers as performers because public performance was not regarded as respectable.²⁴⁴

Further extensive research of guitar teachers has revealed a different picture to the one presented in Figure 3:1. The core source of information has been a survey of teachers drawn up from various sources and which is given in Appendix A. This has been inspired by Deborah Rohr's biographical catalogue of over six and a half thousand musicians from which she drew her conclusions.²⁴⁵ The survey here is smaller and some of the sources Rohr relied on have not been useful in a study of guitarists. In particular, the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary* and Brown and Stratton's *British Musical Biography* have been of limited use because they were biased towards high art music and have little to say about

²⁴² Temperley, 'Xenophilia', pp. 12-13. For reference to the English musician who Italianised his name see 'I remember once', *Literary Garland*, 1 April 1839, p. 40.

²⁴³ For details of Huerta's life see Javier Suárez-Pajares and Robert Coldwell, *A.T. Huerta (1800-1875) Life and Works*, (n.p.: DGA Editions, 2006).

²⁴⁴ For a description of how prejudice expressed by Adam Smith in the 1770s in which women's public performance was likened to prostitution continued until late in the nineteenth century see Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 6.

²⁴⁵ Rohr, *Careers*, p. 2.

popular music;²⁴⁶ this division was significant from the mid-century onwards. The chief source for my study has been the newspaper the *Morning Post*: a search for 'guitar' from 1800 until 1900 yielded over six thousand entries all of which were investigated. This newspaper was chosen because not only was it published in London for the entire century, but it would seem probable that those who could afford a guitar and tuition might also have read this very middle-class paper.²⁴⁷ While politics made up much of its content it depended on advertising revenue for its existence, with every issue carrying many notices from servants seeking work. Other sources consulted included the *Boarding School and London Master's Directory* of 1828 which gave extensive lists of teachers of all subjects²⁴⁸ and from later in the century names were added from the teachers lists in the 1890s journal the *'Jo* which was renamed the *Troubadour* in 1896. Again, only those for whom a clear reference confirming that they taught the guitar were listed, and on this basis some method book authors were not. One such author was George Rodwell (1800-1852) who wrote instruction books for several instruments, including the guitar, and was music director at Covent Garden.²⁴⁹ No reference suggesting that he taught the guitar has been found.

The resulting survey of some two hundred named teachers (Appendix A), does not pretend to be a comprehensive list, but is intended to be a large enough survey so that some conclusions can be drawn. Some issues arose in the process of gathering data for it. The process of using electronic searches for digitised newspapers can mean that some entries are missed by the automated print reader, particularly in the earlier part of the period when the print was sometimes less clear. In addition, whilst this survey has focused on London, there can be absolutely no doubt that much guitar teaching also took place in other regions. For example, Britton, in his work on Bath and Bristol, identified

²⁴⁶ *Dictionary* ed. by George Grove. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*.

²⁴⁷ Kevin Williams, *Read All About it! A History of the British Newspaper* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 85.

²⁴⁸ *The Boarding School and London Masters' Directory* (London: G.B. Whittaker, 1828).

²⁴⁹ Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, pp. 351-52.

thirteen teachers working there in the years 1815 - 1860.²⁵⁰ Further research about the guitar in the provinces is needed.

The survey gives a different picture of guitar teachers than that of the first short list displayed in Table 3:1. In the first instance it is likely, judging from the names of the teachers in Appendix A, that some were born in Great Britain and not overseas; while some English musicians attempted to 'Italianise' their names, as noted earlier, few examples have been observed of the reverse and then only a first name has been anglicised.²⁵¹ Secondly, the importance of women is revealed and is illustrated in Table 3:2. Of the two hundred and four teachers, eighty-six were women.

Looking first in detail at those who were most active in the first half of the century, the survey shows that the number of women was significant; out of a total of eighty-two teachers twenty-five were female, or just below a third. In comparison, the proportion is a little lower for all the music teachers in the *Boarding School and London Master's Directory* of 1828, in which a total of two hundred and forty-three teachers include fifty-five women, just below one quarter.

Some information has been found about the women. Nine were performers. Of these, five were primarily singers, three were keyboard players, and one was a guitarist; their interest in adding the guitar to their teaching portfolio shows that there was a need to diversify besides being an indication of amateur enthusiasm for the instrument. The singers included Abby Betts who performed at the Drury Lane Theatre²⁵² and Anna Rivière (1810-1884). Rivière advertised singing and Spanish Guitar lessons that would be given at her Academy in Thayer Street, Manchester Square, in 1830.²⁵³ She later married

²⁵⁰ Britton, 'Guitar', pp. 349 - 51.

²⁵¹ For example, Karl Eulenstein gave his name as Charles Eulenstein on his German Language Grammar, see Figure 3:2.

²⁵² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 4 October 1848. For further confirmation that Betts was a singer see *Royal Society of Musicians List of Members*, p. 165.

²⁵³ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 May 1830.

the composer Henry Rowley Bishop in 1831 and became a very popular singer travelling abroad widely.²⁵⁴

Some, such as Ellen Luigi, would have belonged to the group of women described by Ehrlich as 'daughter-musicians' who contributed to family incomes by teaching and performing.²⁵⁵ She was a guitarist and almost certainly the daughter, and pupil, of Giovanni Luigi.²⁵⁶ She was added in the last sentence of her father's advertisement in 1844 and claimed to teach tuning and accompanying the voice in two lessons.²⁵⁷ Another teacher whose parents were musicians was Olivia Dussek Bulkley (1799-1847), a keyboard player who also taught guitar. She was the daughter of the singer Sophia Dussek and the Bohemian pianist Jan Ladislav Dussek who abandoned his wife and daughter in 1799.²⁵⁸

Some of the women teachers were from families not engaged in the music business, such as Eleanor Geary (1821-1876), who was advertising guitar lessons in the late 1830s and 1840s.²⁵⁹ She was a pianist, who was teaching the guitar as well by 1839. She clearly thought there was potential with this as she had published a little guide to musical education with reference to piano playing in particular in 1841. In the second enlarged edition published ten years later she added several pages about the guitar demonstrating

²⁵⁴ W. B. Squire, and J. Gilliland, 'Bishop [née Rivière], Anna (1810-1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2468>> [accessed 17 April 2018].

²⁵⁵ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p.14.

²⁵⁶ She is listed in the 1841 census with Giovanni, the relationships of the household members to each other are not specified. See 1841 census, Charlotte Street, Marylebone, Public Record Office HO 107/686/4. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/MDXHO107_686_686-0180> [accessed 23 March 2019]. A notice for a concert at the 'Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution' included 'Miss Ellen (Pupil of sig. G. Luigi), and Sig. G. Luigi'. See 'Miscellaneous' *Musical World*, 13 July 1843, pp. 240-41, (p. 241).

²⁵⁷ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 4 July 1844.

²⁵⁸ Anne Baker, 'Dussek [née Corri], Sophia Justina' (1775-1847), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-83307>> [accessed 9 April 2018].

²⁵⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 26 June 1839 and 14 November 1849 - 23 November 1849.

knowledge of the instrument and mentioning the composers Carulli, Sor, and Giuliani. She advises that the best method was that of Carulli although suggests that for those who wish to take up the guitar 'as a recreation, and the *elegant* rather than the *scientific* style be desired, there are many smaller works'.²⁶⁰ At this time she lived with her parents. Her father, Nicholas Geary, was a stay maker at number sixty-one, St James's Street.²⁶¹ This was a fashionable location near to Buckingham Palace and two minutes walk from the great mansions of Stafford House, Marlborough House, and Spencer House. In the Tallis street view of the late 1830s several traders there claimed to supply the Queen.²⁶² Eleanor's elder sister, Elizabeth, was a singer who taught piano and singing. Her mother, also Elizabeth, was a stay maker who was listed in the 1845 Post Office directory in her own right²⁶³ and elsewhere received a commendation for her designs.²⁶⁴ The earnings of the women must have been important particularly as her father Nicholas had been bankrupt in 1832.²⁶⁵

These examples serve to illustrate how varied and complex family enterprises could be. They confirm the findings of social historians such as Lenore Davidoff and Catharine Hall with their groundbreaking book *Family Fortunes* in which they show that in the period 1780 to 1850 the established view of middle class women in their private sphere dependent on men obscured the true extent of their contributions to the household economy.²⁶⁶ Not only were some wives and daughters occupied in the main family

²⁶⁰ Geary, *Musical Education*, pp. 76 - 80. The first edition was published by the same publisher in 1841. The italics are those of the author.

²⁶¹ For listings of Nicholas, Eleanor, and her sister Elizabeth see *Pigot and Co.'s Directory of London and its Suburbs* (London: J. Pigot & Co., 1839), p.165. A 'stay' was a corset.

²⁶² John Tallis, *London Street Views* 2nd edn Introduced by Peter Jackson, (London: London Topographical Society, 2002), pp. 68 - 69.

²⁶³ *Post Office London Directory, 1846* (London: W. Kelly & Co., 1846), p. 239.

²⁶⁴ For praise of the exercise stays invented by Mrs Nicholas Geary, Stay-Maker see Donald Walker, *Exercises for Ladies* 2nd edn (London: Thomas Hurst, 1837), p. 283.

²⁶⁵ 'Whereas a Fiat in Bankruptcy is awarded and issued forth against Nicholas Geary', *London Gazette*, 30 November 1832, p. 2649.

²⁶⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* rev. edn (Abingdon: Routledge 2002), p. 284.

business, but they sometimes added income from other activities, as Jenny Nex found in her research into musical instrument manufacturers and their families.²⁶⁷

References have been found confirming that nearly all the women in the survey who taught guitar in the first half of the century also taught other instruments that were regarded as suitable for women.²⁶⁸ Most offered at least two and many three. In addition to the guitar, twelve specified singing or vocal accompaniment, twelve the piano, and seven the harp.

The male guitar teachers, like the female teachers in the same period, did not just teach the guitar. Nineteen specified singing or vocal accompaniment, ten the flute, twelve the piano, seven the violin and three taught languages.²⁶⁹ The presence of the flautists is interesting. At a time when teaching income was needed for survival there may have been fewer opportunities to teach the flute. Although popular, it was not played by women or girls, and boys would not have learnt it at school. A commentator of 1874 wrote: 'music hardly comes within the scope of a boy's education, at least in this country; while it is almost compulsory on girls, whether they have the talent for it or not'.²⁷⁰ Thus middle and upper class girls were expected to play instruments and many learnt in school. It would therefore have made sense to give lessons on a woman's instrument for which there would have been considerably more demand than for lessons on the flute.²⁷¹ It is significant that in the 1828 *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory* Mr Card, a

²⁶⁷ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical Instrument Making in Early Industrial London' (PhD thesis, Goldsmith's College, University of London, 2013), p. 165.

²⁶⁸ For discussion of how some instruments were regarded as suitable for women whilst others were suitable for men see Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 46.

²⁶⁹ The few teachers for whom it has not been possible to identify their gender have not been included in these and the following numbers. I am grateful to Tom Heck for drawing my attention to this difficulty (Personal communication, 25 March 2018).

²⁷⁰ 'The Education of Women', *Nature*, 10:255, (1874), 395-96, (p. 395).

²⁷¹ The belief that the guitar was a good choice for teaching because it was a woman's instrument was echoed by Karl (Charles) Eulenstein whose first instrument was the Jew's harp. In his autobiography he says 'I now had the idea of taking up another instrument, besides my Jew's harp, on which I could later give lessons. I chose the guitar, which I had already learned in my youth. Although I played the violin ten times better than the guitar, the latter seemed more suitable to me because it was a woman's instrument.' See Eulenstein, 'Eulenstein's Musical Career', p. 190.

flautist, was listed to teach the Spanish Guitar with no mention of the flute.²⁷² Some of this guitar teaching may have been of questionable quality; it was the case, particularly in the early part of the century, that many musicians performed on both string and wind instruments.²⁷³ It must also have been true that a common abuse was for musicians to teach instruments that they did not play, especially those that were popular among female pupils.²⁷⁴ Two flautists who would not have fallen into this latter category were Rafael Dressler (1784-1835) and Charles Sola. Dressler came to London in 1817; he had previously worked in Vienna and at the Hanoverian Court.²⁷⁵ In London he taught flute and guitar,²⁷⁶ and gave a concert jointly with the guitarist Ferdinand Pelzer in 1833.²⁷⁷ It is unlikely that a guitarist of Pelzer's standing would have collaborated with someone incompetent. Sola performed well on both instruments. It was reported in 1834 that 'Signor Sola delighted the audience with his masterly performance both on the flute and guitar'.²⁷⁸ He published a guitar tutor book and many arrangements of guitar accompaniments for songs. As a teacher he was valued to such an extent that a school placed an advertisement in 1833 believing it could attract pupils by offering tuition from one of his students.²⁷⁹

Just as diversification into guitar teaching by flautists made good business sense so also did language teaching, particularly by those who were foreigners. For some, this

²⁷² *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory*, p. 100. The address given was 98 Quadrant, Regent St. For Card listed as a flute and flageolet maker and music seller at that address see *Pigot and Co.'s London & Provincial new Commercial Directory 1826-7*, (London: Pigot & Co., 1826), p. 213. Later in the century Card is described as a flute player, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 78.

²⁷³ Rohr, *Careers*, p. 114.

²⁷⁴ There was no mechanism for regulating the profession; musicians taught instruments which they did not play but for which there was popular demand for lessons by young ladies. See Rohr, *Careers*, p. 135.

²⁷⁵ Richard Rockstro, *A Treatise on the Construction the History and the Practice of the Flute* (London: Rudall Carte and Co., 1890), p. 578

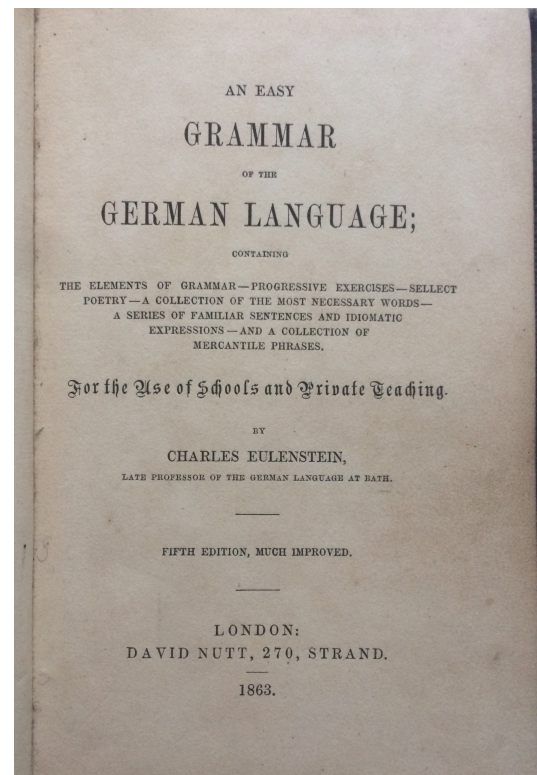
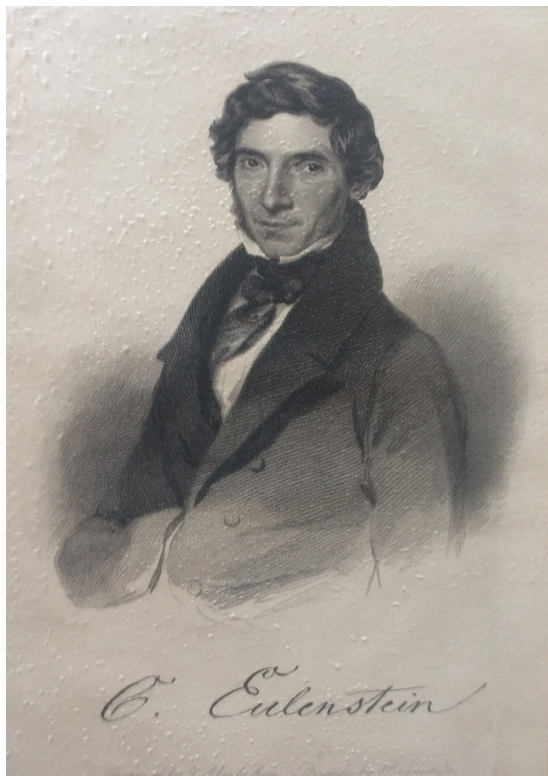
²⁷⁶ 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 20 March 1829

²⁷⁷ 'Messrs. Dressler and Pelzer's Concert, King's Theatre', *Morning Post*, 17 May 1833.

²⁷⁸ 'Concert Rooms, Hertford', *Morning Post*, 5 April 1834.

²⁷⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 23 March 1833.

language work may have provided more income than music. Eulenstein moved from London to the west country in the early 1830s where he started teaching German as well as the guitar in order to make his 'position more secure'.²⁸⁰ By 1842 he was listed in Pigot's trade directory as just a teacher of German in Bath²⁸¹ and subsequently published a German grammar that ran to at least five editions (Figure 3:2).²⁸² Similarly in the 1851 census Sosson's occupation was given as 'Professor of languages' with no mention of music.²⁸³



Left: Figure 3:1. G. Adcock, *C. Eulenstein*, 1833.²⁸⁴

Right: Figure 3:2 Title page of Eulenstein's German Language Grammar.

²⁸⁰ Eulenstein, 'Eulenstein's Musical Career', p. 205.

²⁸¹ *Pigot and Co.'s Directory of Somersetshire* (London: J. Pigot & Co., 1842), p. 18.

²⁸² Charles (Karl) Eulenstein, *An Easy Grammar of the German Language* 5th edn (London: Nutt, 1863).

²⁸³ 1851 census, Bartholomew Place, Kentish Town, Public Record Office HO 107/1498. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1498_1498-0238> [accessed 23 March 2019].

²⁸⁴ G. Adcock, 'C. Eulenstein', in *A Sketch of the Life of C. Eulenstein* by [C. Eulenstein] (London: James J. Welsh, 1833), frontispiece.

In the second half of the century the number of teachers in the survey increased to 122, in contrast to the four in the very first list illustrated in Table 3:1, although this might seem less significant when one remembers that the population of Greater London more than doubled between 1851 and 1901.²⁸⁵ Foreigners remained important but were less dominant. Mandolinists from Italy included Marchisio, and Federico Sacchi (1836-1902), from Cremona, who became well established in London.²⁸⁶ Among banjoists from the United States there were Clark Jones from Virginia²⁸⁷ and Cara Daniels who included plantation melodies in her repertoire.²⁸⁸ There was a change in the other instruments taught, with the mandolin and banjo becoming significant from the mid-1880s onwards. Amongst the fifty-three men thirty-three also taught the mandolin and sixteen the banjo. Two included the cornet and two the violin. No one included the flute. Of the sixty-one women thirty included the mandolin and fifteen the banjo. Seventeen offered singing, nine piano and two each of the harp and violin. These figures demonstrate how strong enthusiasm for the mandolin and banjo was by the 1890s. In addition, the change of instruments offered away from orchestral ones illustrates how the guitar had become part of popular culture which, with commercialisation, was becoming ever more separate from so-called high art music.²⁸⁹

However, the change that most stands out is the increase in the proportion of women such that less than half of the teachers listed were men by the 1890s, confirming Ehrlich's observation that music teaching became a female profession.²⁹⁰ Again, some of these women were from families of musicians such as the Pelzers.²⁹¹ Others from families of

²⁸⁵ Taken from census figures the population of Greater London in 1851 was 2,651,939 and in 1901 6,506,889. See Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History*, p. 42.

²⁸⁶ Sparks, *Classical Mandolin*, p. 45.

²⁸⁷ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 7 July 1896.

²⁸⁸ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 7 March 1893.

²⁸⁹ Scott, *Sounds*, p. 4.

²⁹⁰ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 53.

²⁹¹ See above Chapter 1, Section 1.4.

musicians included Lily Montagu, who was teaching in the 1890s and whose father was the director of the Royal Black Diamond Minstrels, a troupe of black-faced minstrels which had been popular in the 1860s.²⁹² Interestingly, among the women there was a small increase in the proportion who had not married thus illustrating the increasing 'surplus women' problem. In the early part of the century just over fifty-eight per cent of the women teachers had not married and in the second half this figure rose to over sixty-five per cent.

Among the widows, some continued with the work that they had followed when married but with much greater energy judging by their advertisements. Thus, Fanny Willis was teaching music by 1881 but started advertising in the mid-1880s at which time she must have lost her husband.²⁹³ Likewise Eliza Cherer (née Hughes, 1837-1910) started advertising after her husband, a piano tuner, died in 1893. She was a singer and had taught music while married, although it is unclear if this always included the guitar.²⁹⁴ Both women had music teaching listed as an occupation in the censuses taken during their married years. Pratten herself, like these other two, promoted herself much more extensively after her husband, Robert, died in 1868.

Table 3:2 shows the numbers of teachers by decade. The overall pattern of teaching is a little different from that of the teachers described at the beginning of the chapter and

²⁹² 'Mr Wallie Montagu', *Banjo World*, February 1896, p. 39. Wallie was Lily's brother, their father was Chas Montagu.

²⁹³ In the 1881 census Willis was married and teaching music. See 1881 census, 111 Lancaster Road, Kensington, Public record Office RG 11/35. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7572/images/LNDRG11_34_38-0410> [accessed 9 September 2018]. In the 1891 census she was described as a widow, see 1891 census for 25 St Mark's Road, Kensington, Public Record Office RG 12/25. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/6598/images/LNDRG12_23_25-0659> [accessed 9 September 2018].

²⁹⁴ For Cherer's first advertisement see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 2 October 1895. For her last see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 14 March 1898. For her claim to be a 'favourite pupil' of Madame Pratten see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 5 October 1896. In the 1891 census she was listed as a teacher of music, her husband George was described as a piano tuner. 1891 census, 25 South Molton Street, St George's Hanover Sq, Public Record Office RG12/67. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/6598/images/LNDRG12_67_69-0072> [accessed 9 September 2018]. He died in 1893, GRO index St George's Hanover Square, June 1893, vol 1a p. 278.

illustrated in Table 3:1. Evidence of enthusiasm in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s remains as does the lessening of interest in the 1860s and 1870s. What is different is the revival of interest in the 1880s and 1890s.

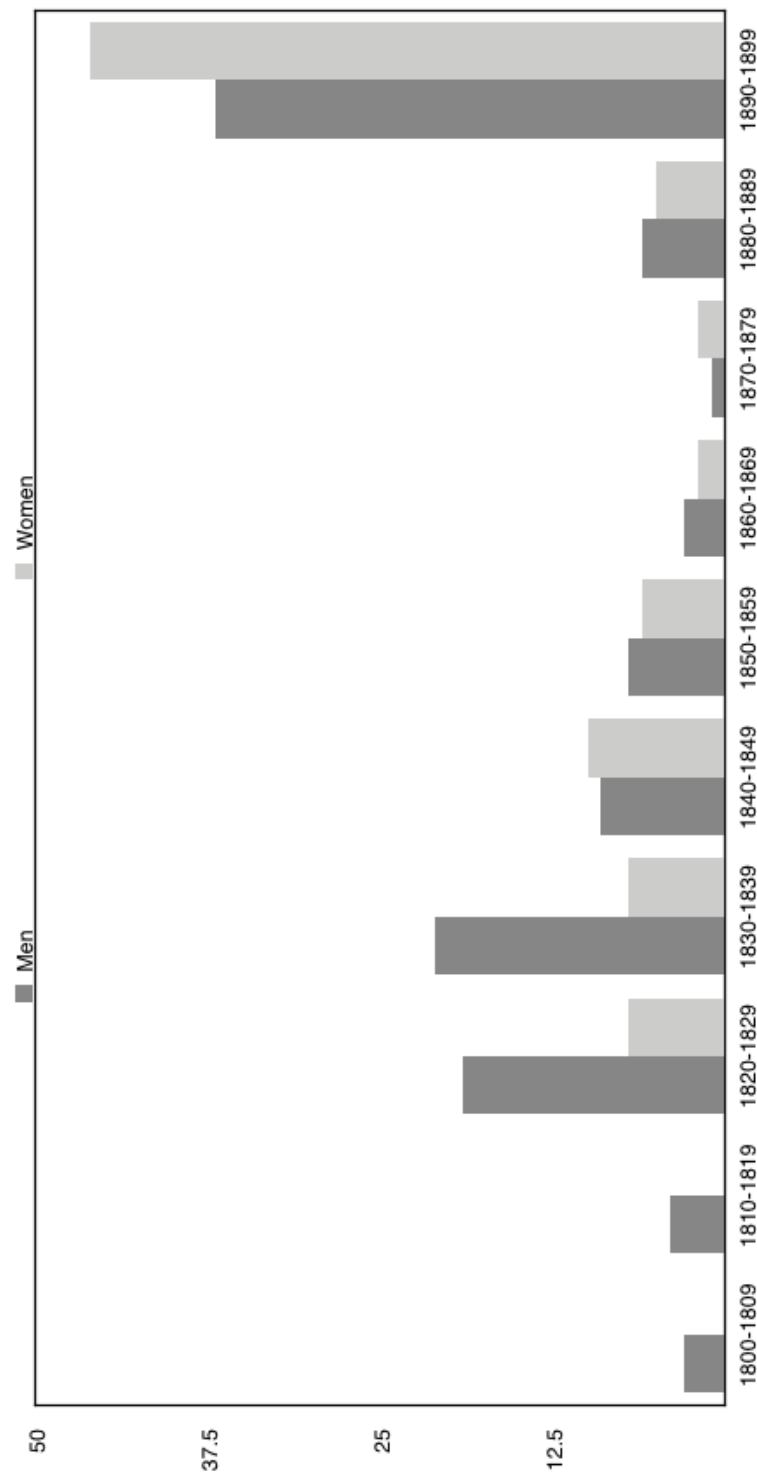


Table 3:2. The numbers in the survey of named guitar teachers by decade. A tiny number of teachers taught for several decades, they have been counted here at a mid-point in their careers.

Table 3:2 does not give an accurate picture of the extent of the teaching as each teacher is only counted once even though some of them taught for several decades and have been counted here at a mid-point in their careers. For example, Giovanni Luigi's career in London spanned thirty-four years from approximately 1844 to 1878²⁹⁵ and Catharina Pratten was teaching in London for some forty-two years from approximately 1853 until her death in 1895.²⁹⁶ In the earlier part of the century the teaching career of Angelo Benedetto Ventura (1781-1856) lasted at least twenty-seven years from 1812 to 1839.²⁹⁷ In addition to teaching he was an instrument inventor and among his innovations was his 'Harp Ventura' which he exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851.²⁹⁸ These people have been given the same weight as people such as Mademoiselle Hanmam for whom only a single advertisement has been seen.²⁹⁹ It has not been possible to estimate the length of many of the teachers' careers, nor has it been possible to estimate the extent of their teaching in terms of their pupil numbers. The only person for whom a figure has been found is Catharina Pratten; her biographer claimed that she had taught some two thousand pupils in her life although this figure is given more as an anecdote than as an accurate total.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ For his first advertisements see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 4 July 1844. For the last reference seen see 'Music', *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, 1 March 1878, p. 70.

²⁹⁶ For an advertisement under her maiden name Pelzer see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post* 18 October 1853, for her last advertisement see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post* 25 September 1895. She advertised extensively in newspapers and periodicals in the intervening years. Her teaching career had started earlier while she was living in Exeter in the 1840s, see *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Devonshire* (Sheffield: William White, 1850), p. 170. She was probably teaching in London prior to 1853.

²⁹⁷ See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 10 February 1812, 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 5 August 1839.

²⁹⁸ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', pp. 422-27.

²⁹⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 2 March 1847.

³⁰⁰ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 72. It has not been possible to verify this figure from any other source.

The analysis here so far understates the contribution of women. Firstly, it does not include those who advertised anonymously. In the survey there were ninety-one anonymous advertisers of which seventy-one were identified as being from women and ten from men. When the figures for anonymous men and women are added to the numbers of named teachers the increasing importance of women can be seen. The results are shown in Table 3:3. Whilst the majority are men in the first four decades of the century the number of women is significant. From 1840 onwards women predominate, with a slight dip in the 1860s.

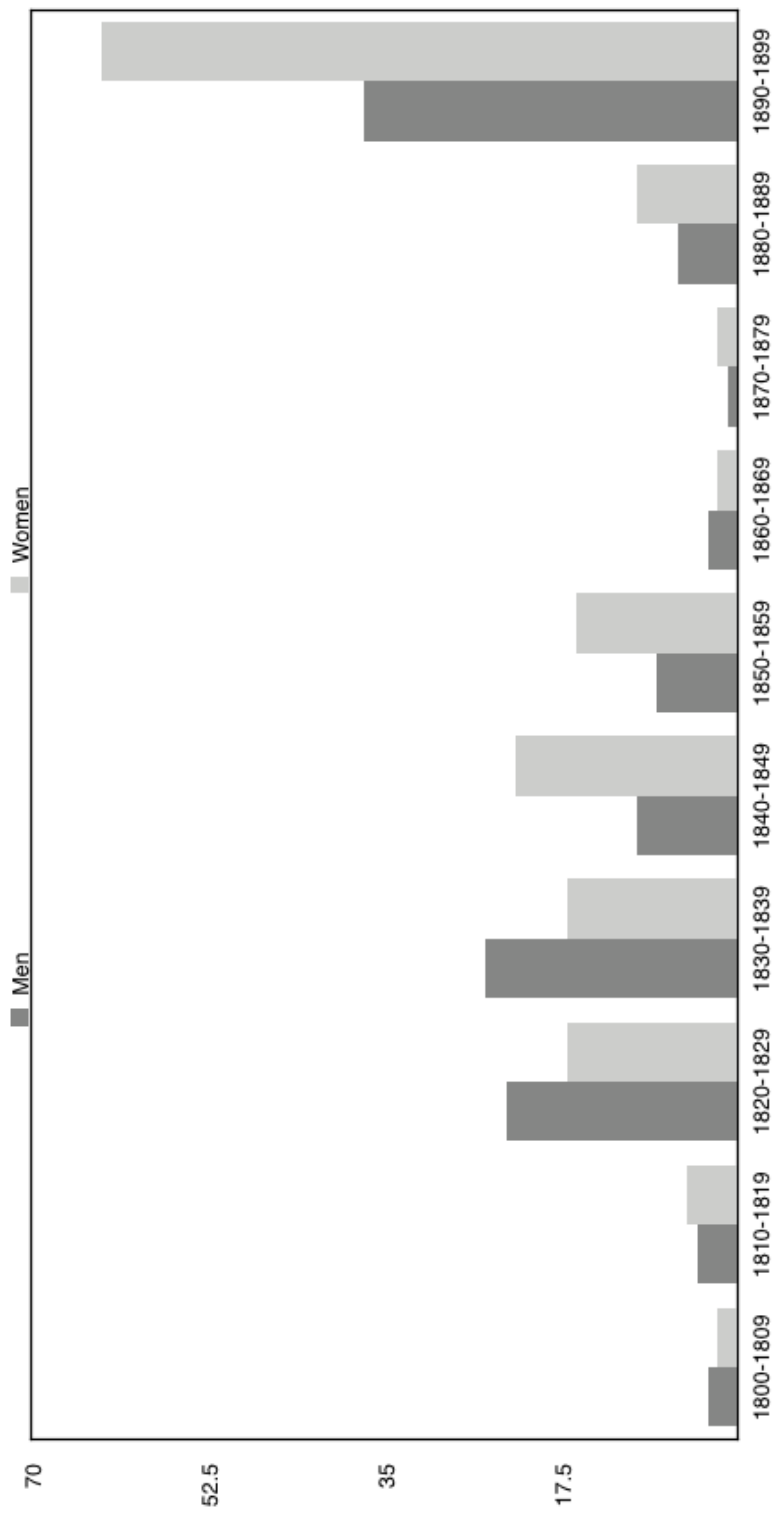


Table 3:3 The numbers in the survey of named and anonymous teachers by decade.

The final group who have not so far been included are governesses. They remained numerous throughout the century and an attempt has been made to identify those who taught guitar from their advertisements in the *Morning Post*. Not all of them used the word 'governess', but it can be assumed that those seeking work with children offering what were referred to as the 'usual branches' of education fell into this category. These 'usual branches' nearly always included languages, especially French, music, and some art. In the survey 314 advertisements were found: they included 310 women, three men and one where the gender of the advertiser was unclear. The men sought jobs as 'tutors' and are included here as their roles and status would have been similar to those of governesses. However, because nearly all were women it is they that will be discussed in detail. To gain a full picture of who was teaching, the numbers of the governesses and male tutors have been added to the numbers of named and anonymous male and female teachers with the resulting numbers by decade illustrated in Table 3:4. The result of this survey shows that by 1810 most guitar teaching was undertaken by women.

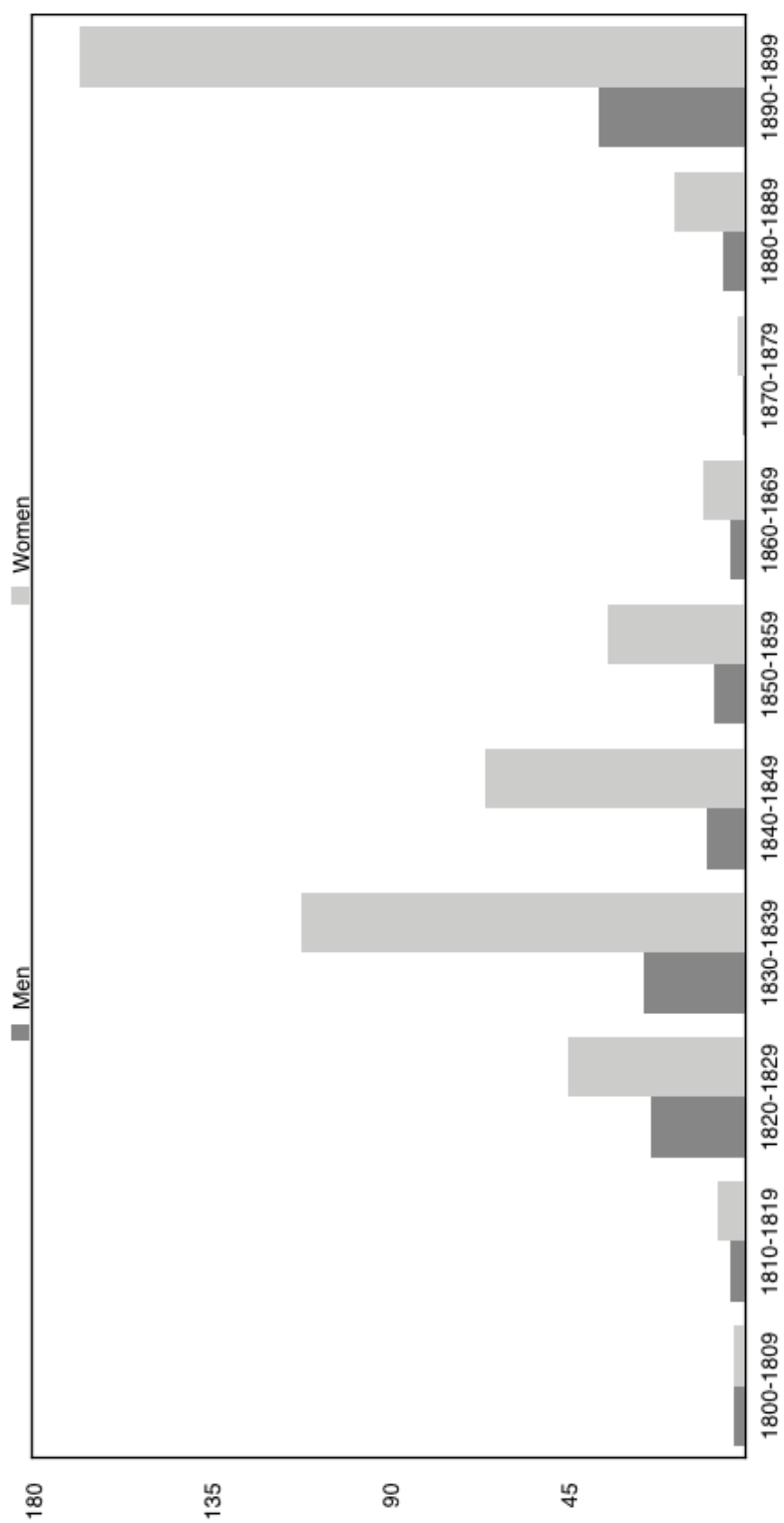


Table 3:4 The numbers in the survey of named and anonymous teachers plus governesses and tutors by decade.

The importance of governesses for guitar teaching has recently been recognised.³⁰¹ There were three ways in which they could work. The first of these was for a woman to be resident in her employer's household. The second was for her to visit her pupils in a family on a daily basis and live elsewhere. Thirdly, governesses could work in private girls' schools. Those teaching in these private schools were labelled governesses to make clear their social standing over and above elementary schoolmistresses.³⁰² For those who worked in families the work may not have been easy and by the end of the period what had been described by Elizabeth Appleton in her popular book about Young Ladies' private education³⁰³ as an honourable and genteel profession in 1816³⁰⁴ was regarded by some as an occupation of last resort. The *Girl's Own Paper* did not mince its words in the 1880s and wrote that: 'It may perhaps be doubted whether the position of a governess in a private family can ever be desirable [...] her mind, perpetually in contact with younger minds, is apt to be dwarfed to their level, and, like the lawn of a suburban garden, being perpetually mowed [...] grows browner and barer, until it is voted only fit to be dug up and carted away to the dust-heap.'³⁰⁵ In spite of this, supply exceeded demand. *Cassell's Family Magazine* of 1885 reported a case in which 150 ladies applied for one post and another for which there were 200 applicants.³⁰⁶ In this situation those seeking work were keen to offer as many skills as they could and music was one that was

³⁰¹ Page, 'Being a Guitarist', pp. 12-15.

³⁰² Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 43.

³⁰³ Elaine Chalus, 'Appleton [married name Lachlan], Elizabeth (c.1790-1849), Educationalist and Author. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-51773>> [accessed 23 March 2018].

³⁰⁴ Elizabeth Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies*. 3rd edn (London: the Author, 1816), p. 1.

³⁰⁵ 'Remunerative Work, Teaching', in *The Girl's Own Indoor Book*, (London: Religious Tract Society, [1889]), p. 492.

³⁰⁶ 'Remunerative Employments for Gentlewomen', in *Cassell's Family Magazine*, (London: Cassell & Co., 1885), p. 737.

in demand. For Charlotte Brontë in the 1840s, her lack of musical skill had made it hard to find a post.³⁰⁷

Many women looking for jobs as governesses offered music and some would have been skilled. Towards the end of the century a few had music college diplomas,³⁰⁸ whilst many claimed they could teach instruments 'without the aid of masters', in other words without the need for an additional visiting music specialist. Some were specific 'music governesses' such as the advertiser in 1843 who sought a job as musical governess³⁰⁹ or the lady looking for a job in 1893 who mentioned that her previous job had been as a music governess in a school.³¹⁰ More often, though, only elementary skills were required. Elizabeth Appleton outlined how governesses were the best people to teach young beginners,³¹¹ and for more advanced pupils need then only step in when the music master was unavailable.³¹² In addition, Eleanor Geary noted how they could supervise practice.³¹³

Without doubt some women sought to enhance their job prospects by improving their skills, but their learning may not have been of very high quality. Olivia Dussek Buckley neatly summarised the situation: 'the governess, aware that she must know everything in order to secure a situation, gets a lesson here and there by hook or by crook, and is often compelled to represent herself as the pupil of some master or mistress of musical

³⁰⁷ Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1857), I, 221.

³⁰⁸ For an example see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 10 September 1895. The advertiser sought a post as a daily governess and among her skills offered 'superior music [...] cert. R.A.M.'.

³⁰⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 22 May 1843.

³¹⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 11 January 1893. The advertiser was a 'late governess to high school boarders' and offered to teach subjects that included 'piano (classical), harmonium, guitar, singing'.

³¹¹ Appleton, *Private Education*, p. 170.

³¹² Appleton, *Private Education*, p. 10.

³¹³ Geary, *Musical Education*, p. 39.

celebrity, when, in reality, she has perhaps not had a dozen lessons.’³¹⁴ There were regular advertisements offering tuition specifically for governesses. One advertiser offered them time in Paris to learn French in 1835.³¹⁵ Others were more general in their wording such as the advertisement posted in 1846 in which the advertiser offered to teach adult ladies of ‘neglected education’ with an assurance that secrecy could be depended on.³¹⁶ A few advertisers specifically offered music lessons to help governesses. No lesser a person than Ferdinand Pelzer understood the predicament of these women and wrote in his prospectus that most beginners were instructed by governesses who themselves had not been taught to combine the science and art of music. He therefore offered to teach intelligent ladies what was needed in twelve lessons.³¹⁷ How many took up this offer is uncertain, particularly as the prevailing view of the time was that women would not wish to study the science of music, but should only be concerned with the art of performing.³¹⁸

Earlier in the century help of a less thorough nature was offered by John Green in the south-western corner of Soho Square at number 33. His music warehouse supplied instruments and music and in addition offered piano lessons to ladies and amateur ‘concert’ lessons to gentlemen on strings and flutes.³¹⁹ He advertised specific help to governesses and teachers wishing to know more of Logier’s system for the piano.³²⁰ It would also seem very probable that if a governess came to his shop expressing interest in

³¹⁴ Olivia Dussek Buckley, *Musical Truths* (London: the Author, 1843), p. 38. A contemporary reviewer expressed surprise at the bitterness that Mrs Dussek felt towards governesses. See ‘Literature - New Music’ *The Metropolitan*, May 1843, pp. 23-26, (pp. 23-25).

³¹⁵ ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 17 August 1835.

³¹⁶ ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 4 April 1846.

³¹⁷ The prospectus is with the depositions taken at the inquest into Pelzer’s death. See London, London Metropolitan Archives, Middlesex Central Coroners District Depositions, Ferdinand Pelzer, 14 July 1864, COR/B/016. The ‘science’ of music meant the ‘theory’ of music.

³¹⁸ Appleton, *Private Education*, p. 163.

³¹⁹ ‘Advertisements’, *The Harmonicon*, November 1826, wrapper.

³²⁰ ‘Advertisements’, *The Harmonicon*, September 1829, wrapper.

learning more about the guitar, the ever entrepreneurial Mr Green would have steered her towards his book 'Hints on the Spanish guitar, being a preparatory tutor for the instrument on an entirely new plan'.³²¹ This new plan provided instruction through song accompaniments and promised that considerable progress could be made after only one hour's practice. The plan was broken into three sections, or classes. The first consisted of six songs with accompaniments that only required in the left hand the use of one finger. They are all in C major and use two chords on the top three strings. The problem of how to tune the instrument was overcome with the simple instruction that a friend must be found to help. Class B was composed of eight songs for which the use of two left hand fingers were required for the accompaniments, and class C had seven songs requiring three fingers. The apparent simplicity with the promise of quick results would have made this system attractive and Mr Green would have been promoting it until his shop closed in 1848.³²² He would certainly have been looked on with derision by serious guitarists and would have qualified as one of the 'quacks' that a correspondent to *The Giulianiad* referred to in March 1833, criticising such teachers for promising to teach the instrument in six lessons.³²³

Nearly all women who advertised for work as governesses did so anonymously. One of these women has been identified from her initials in the advertisement by Christopher Page; she was Martha Knowles, daughter of a surgeon, who sought work as a 'morning governess' in 1833.³²⁴ She was not in need of a home as she would have continued to live with her parents. A later advertisement in 1835 unusually gave the name of the advertiser. She was Miss Crosse, and the given address was the Rectory House, St John's, Wapping.³²⁵ She described herself as a lady with extensive knowledge of English

³²¹ John Green, *Green's Hints on the Spanish guitar, being a Preparatory Tutor, for the Instrument on an Entirely New Plan* (London: the author [1830]).

³²² John Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers An Annotated List* (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1990), p. 109.

³²³ 'To the Editor of the Giulianiad', *The Giulianiad* [March] 1833, pp. 27-28, (p. 28).

³²⁴ Page, 'Being a Guitarist', p. 14-15.

³²⁵ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 31 July 1835.

literature and some knowledge of languages, the pianoforte, and guitar. If one accepts that there was a misprint in the name, and that this was in fact Miss Grosse, then some information about her is available. At that time there was a curate at the Rectory called Thomas Grosse and this lady would have been his elder sister, Harriet.³²⁶ Wapping was then a far cry from the fashionable West End of London and not the desirable location that it is today.³²⁷ Harriet was then aged 32, and had probably lived with her widowed mother until her mother's death in 1833 at which point she would have turned to her brother for support. Like Charlotte Brontë she was a clergyman's daughter; her father, John Grosse, published many of his sermons and was the son of John Henry Grosse, a noted writer about India, hence Harriet's extensive knowledge of literature. Whilst her brother Thomas was educated at Mercer's free grammar school in the City of London and then Cambridge University, Harriet's education is unknown. It is possible she attended a school for the daughters of impoverished clergy although it is more likely that all her education was at home from her mother. Unlike Martha, Harriet was in need of a home; she was 'desirous of engaging herself in a Nobleman or Gentleman's family' presumably because she could no longer stay with her brother.

The survey shows that most of the teaching was done by women which may give some indication of the gender of amateur players. It has been shown that the number of governesses was significant. It is most likely that their pupils were girls or young women because in nearly all their advertisements they offered to teach the subjects that girls were

³²⁶ Thomas is listed in: J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part II*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940-54), vi (1947), 163. His father John Grose is in: Gordon Goodwin, 'Grose, John (bap.1758, d.1821), Church of England clergyman'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11661>> [accessed 15 April 2017]. Harriet's baptism record at St Matthews, Bethnal Green, 3 January 1804, gives her birth date 22 December 1803. The burial of Harriet's mother, Anna Eugenia Grose, was recorded on 9 February 1833 at St Giles, Camberwell.

³²⁷ The rectory is shown on a map, see Laurence Ward, *The London County Council Bomb Damage Maps 1939-1945* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), p. 115.

expected to learn, namely languages (especially French), piano, singing, and drawing in addition to the guitar.³²⁸

The picture is not so clear for women who worked as music teachers although it is known that some taught both women and men. Catharina Pratten taught men as well as women in the later part of her career. For example, one of her pupils was Dr Walter Leckie (1846-1926) whom she taught from the mid-1870s and in 1879 she met and subsequently taught the playwright Brandon Thomas.³²⁹ Later her pupils included Ernest Shand and Frank Mott Harrison.³³⁰ It is not clear whether she taught men in the earlier part of her career; she may not have done because only one of her early publications had a male dedicatee, the Lord Bishop of Bombay, whereas later ones did.³³¹ Her younger sister, Giulia Pelzer, also taught both men and women at the Guildhall School of Music in the last decades of the century. An account of a concert given by her students at the

³²⁸ Women did teach younger boys; this is illustrated by the number of schools that were run by women listed in the *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory* of 1828; out of a total of 270 schools for 'young gentlemen' in or near London forty-seven 'preparatory' or 'pre-preparatory' schools had a woman in charge. It is unlikely that the guitar was included in their curriculum.

³²⁹ Pratten described Leckie as her 'talented pupil and friend' on the title page of a manuscript dated 1875. See Whitehouse, *Leckie*, p. 24. Her tuition of Brandon Thomas, best known as author of the play *Charley's Aunt*, is described with an account of how she helped the young actor. See Jevan Brandon-Thomas, *Charley's Aunt's Father* (London: Douglas Saunders, 1955), p. 56.

³³⁰ Harrison commented that among Pratten's two thousand pupils many were titled ladies 'and not a few [were] of the sterner sex.' See Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 72.

³³¹ Pratten's publications that carried dedications given in her lifetime to men are given here with her catalogue numbers. She gave numbers to her guitar publications in two series, one for vocal pieces and the other for guitar(s) alone. The numbers do not always correspond with the order of publication, she did not use numbers at the start of her career and later assigned her early pieces to later numbers. In the vocal series, dedicated to John Hales: 91a, *L'Addio a Napoli*. To Commander Corry: 102, *Me Gustan Todas*. In the instrumental series, dedicated to the Lord Bishop of Bombay: 4, *Sacred Selections*. To Dr Walter Leckie: 58, *Hungarian March*, 64, *Progressive Preludes*, and 83, *Dance of the Witches*. To Frank Mott Harrison: 78, *Eventide*. To Mr and Mrs John Carr: 85, *Spanish Dance*. To James Lee: 89, *Spanish Dance*. To Dr John Leckie: 91, *Sadness*, 92, *A Lost Love* and 93, *A Lament*. To Charles Bulpett: 94, *Addio del Passato*. To H. S. Alexander: 117, *Rambling Thoughts*. To W. Plumbridge: 123, *Norwegian Peasant Dance* and 123A, *Forget me not*.

School on 24 March 1898 noted that she taught 'a great number of amateurs of both sexes', the performers on the guitar on that occasion including Colonel J. A. Temple.³³²

There is some evidence that the male teachers taught both male and female pupils. One indication of pupils' identity is provided by the dedications found on published music. A small survey of the music by the male teachers named on Table 2:1 held in the collection of Josiah Hudleston, himself an amateur guitarist, reveals the identity of some of their pupils.³³³ Of the English publications ninety-one were dedicated to women and thirty-three to men. Of the women dedicatees five were specified as pupils, and of the male dedicatees nine were also specified as pupils; among these names none stood out as being those of future professional players. The unspecified dedicatees included some amateur players. For example, John Nüske (1796-1865), who lived in London in the 1830s and whose compositions were highly regarded at the time,³³⁴ dedicated a *Fantasia for the Spanish Guitar* to the Lord Saltoun. Although not indicated as a pupil of Nüske this aristocrat was nevertheless a keen amateur musician and player of the guitar.³³⁵ Whilst this survey is too small to provide conclusive evidence of the proportions of male and female amateurs who played the guitar it does nevertheless show that the male teachers were teaching both sexes.

This chapter sheds light on why the author of the 'Guitar' article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* believed that the guitar had fallen into near oblivion by the late 1870s. This author would have been concerned with prominent performers. Table 3:1 includes only two teachers from that decade, Catharina Pratten and Elizabeth Mounsey. Of these two only Pratten performed in public at that time, there were no other

³³² 'Concerts and Entertainments' *The Lady* 31 March 1898, p. 454.

³³³ The extensive collection of guitar music that belonged to the amateur guitarist Josiah Hudleston (1799-1865) is now housed in the library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Dublin.

³³⁴ Michael McCartney, 'The Case of the Forgotten Talent: J. A. Nüske', available at: <<http://www.hudleston-music.co.uk/articles/nuske.sht>> [accessed 12 August 2009].

³³⁵ For further reference to Lord Saltoun see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

well-known English performers then in England. Mounsey performed on the guitar in the 1830s, including at her own concert,³³⁶ but no evidence has been found to suggest that she played the instrument in public in later years. My research has demonstrated that, although there was some dip in interest in the 1870s, teachers continued to teach and therefore amateurs were playing the instrument. Many of these teachers were not well-known for their performances and many were governesses who would not have performed in public. Further investigation in the next chapter into how the teachers worked will reveal more about amateur players.

³³⁶ 'Miss Mounsey's Concert', *The Giulianiad*, [July] 1833, pp. 48-49

Chapter Four

Guitar Teachers: Part Two How they Worked

The teachers worked in a variety of ways. Where they worked is first investigated here, in venues which included homes, schools, music colleges, and other institutions. Consideration is then given to how they conducted their businesses which in turn tells us much about their pupils.

4.1. Where the teachers taught

4.1.1. Home and Abroad

Some of the advertisements placed by teachers indicated where lessons would take place. Most gave home addresses and presumably as the address is listed lessons were offered there. Some teachers would have felt the need to impress their pupils with their premises; Eulenstein commented that he 'was obliged, in order to do business, to rent expensive lodgings' in London.³³⁷ Catharina Pratten gave lessons in the drawing room of her residence, 22A Dorset Street, where she was a lodger from 1872 until 1895. Her biographer noted that the room (Figure 4:1) was filled with a piano, guitars, books, ornaments, and pictures to such an extent that they can '[fill] the visitor with alarm lest he should collide with any of the ornaments'. This array of paraphernalia would no doubt impress pupils and was part of the way she marketed her exclusive image. Some of the pictures, for example, were of guitarists but there were also portraits of aristocracy such as her pupil Princess Louise, and the Dowager Duchess of Wellington to name just two.³³⁸

³³⁷ Eulenstein, 'Musical Career', p. 200.

³³⁸ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, pp. 43-44.

The presence of such clutter was seen as a display of status at the time.³³⁹ Unfortunately the photograph of the room is not clear enough to identify any of the pictures.



Figure 4:1 Catharina Pratten's Drawing Room at 22A Dorset Street.³⁴⁰

Twenty-four teachers stated that they would go 'abroad', in other words travel away from their own homes, and visit pupils' residences to give lessons suggesting that these pupils were better off. Some teachers specified a higher fee for this, as did Eleanor Geary who offered for one guinea three lessons at a pupil's residence or four at her own.³⁴¹ Thus, her

³³⁹ Kathryn Ferry, 'Clutter and the Clash of Middle-class Tastes in the Domestic Interior' *Open Cultural Studies*, 1 (2017), 113-24. <<https://doi.org/10.1515/culture-2017-0011>> [accessed 16 January 2020]. A slightly later photograph of Clifford Essex's studio shows a similar collection of paraphernalia including pictures, plants, ornaments, and instruments. See 'Mr Clifford Essex's Studio, 59 Piccadilly, London W.', *Banjo World*, May 1897, p. 106.

³⁴⁰ Frank Mott Harrison, 'Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten', *The Troubadour*, October 1897, p. 168.

³⁴¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 14 November 1849.

fee for a lesson ‘abroad’ was seven shillings, which was high, as seen in Table 2:5. The little-known teacher Agnes Williamson was less specific, noting that for lessons at the pupil’s residence she would impose special terms.³⁴² Ventura said that he would visit private families within ten miles of London whilst some other teachers presented very organised timetables.³⁴³ Olivia Dussek Bulkley outlined in 1831 how she would work in the West End and at home in Paddington on Tuesdays and Fridays, in Kensington, Chelsea, and Brompton on Mondays and Thursdays, and in the City, Islington, Highbury, and Saint Pancras, on Wednesdays and Saturdays.³⁴⁴ These locations give some indication of who her pupils may have been; not all of them included upper class fashionable addresses. Atkins has mapped out where those included in *Boyle’s Fashionable Court Guide* lived; these people who were most likely to move in court circles did not live in 1840 in Islington, Highbury or St Pancras, so that Bulkley’s pupils in these places may not have been from the highest classes;³⁴⁵ her pupils in the other locations could have been. Nevertheless, a scheme such as this was enterprising in a period when most workers walked to work.³⁴⁶ She could have used the new omnibuses, the first of which began in 1829 with a route from Marylebone along the New Road (now Marylebone and Euston Roads) to the City. This particular route would have helped her on two of her days but although fares were around half those charged by short stage coaches they

³⁴² ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 28 April 1893.

³⁴³ Ventura offered to teach outside London. See ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 30 May 1835.

³⁴⁴ ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 15 August 1831.

³⁴⁵ P. J. Atkins, ‘The spacial configuration of class solidarity in London’s West End, 1792-1939’, *Urban History* 17 (1990), 35-65. *Boyle’s Fashionable Court Guide* was published twice yearly in January and April throughout the nineteenth century. It listed the names and addresses of people likely to have been in court circles. Atkins plots the addresses in the guide for 1840 and this shows that not all the places Mrs Dussek Bulkley visited were fashionable.

³⁴⁶ Ball, and Sunderland, *Economic History*, p. 228.

remained high;³⁴⁷ Pigot and Company listed a fare of sixpence for passengers in 1839.³⁴⁸ It is not known what Mrs Dussek Bulkley charged for lessons but with fees ranging from three shillings to seven shillings per lesson at that time (see Table 4:1), travel costs of one shilling would seem manageable given that she was likely to have had more than one pupil in the locality. It is probable that she charged more to visit pupils just as Eleanor Geary did. The transport infrastructure may not have much improved when Florence Messum, for whom a few references in the 1840s have been seen, was visiting Blackheath and Richmond weekly in 1845.³⁴⁹

Whilst a very few musicians resided in homes of the very rich,³⁵⁰ other teachers of high standing would have visited the homes of their wealthiest and most aristocratic pupils. Ferdinand Pelzer taught the two daughters of the Duke of Sutherland at their London residence, Stafford House, one of the most ostentatious mansions in London at the time. While travelling to one such visit Pelzer reportedly fell from an omnibus and broke a leg and thereafter the Duke sent a carriage to fetch him to the house.³⁵¹ Giulia Pelzer gives an account of visiting a pupil, Lady Cooper, in Surbiton,³⁵² probably travelling by train, and, according to her biographer, Catharina Pratten went to Kensington Palace by private landau to give lessons to Princess Louise, eldest daughter of Queen Victoria.³⁵³ This peripatetic way of working was certainly not unique to guitarists; the composer and pianist

³⁴⁷ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History*, p. 235.

³⁴⁸ *Directory of London*, 1839, p. 467. The fare of sixpence was for passengers with no luggage; the cost would have been higher if Mrs Dussek Bulkley had taken her guitar, the advertisement did not specify what this cost would have been.

³⁴⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 30 July 1845.

³⁵⁰ See above Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

³⁵¹ For reference to Pelzer's tuition of the Duke's daughters see 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer', p. 5. This account has not been verified in any other source.

³⁵² 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer', p. 18. This would have been in the later part of the century; this account has not been verified in any other source.

³⁵³ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 69. This account has not been verified in any other source.

Moscheles would apparently 'dot down the subjects' of compositions on scraps of paper whilst walking from one pupil to another.³⁵⁴

Some teachers regularly worked further afield. Giulia Pelzer noted that her father, Ferdinand, often travelled to various towns to give lessons.³⁵⁵ Brighton was a popular location and in the early part of the century it was a destination of the wealthy. Karl Eulenstein was advised to go there in the 1820s to seek work when London was quiet in the summer as some of the nobility would be there.³⁵⁶ Later, as the advent of the railways enabled greater numbers to visit, it became the holiday choice of the respectable middle class from London³⁵⁷ to such an extent that it was described by a journalist in 1886 as 'a suburb of London - London by the sea-side [...] the queen of watering-places'.³⁵⁸ It was frequented by several teachers who were keen to include people from these classes among their pupils. Catharina Pratten refers to teaching in London and Brighton in the 1860s and 1880s.³⁵⁹ Visits to the town were also made by less prominent teachers: Herr Schwarz, who taught a variety of instruments, was going there twice weekly in 1890 on Mondays and Wednesdays.³⁶⁰ Madame Range, who was also less well known, announced that she went every week in November 1898.³⁶¹

³⁵⁴ Charlotte Moscheles, *Life of Moscheles*, 2 vols, adapted by Arthur Coleridge (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1873), i, 108.

³⁵⁵ 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer', p. 10. This account has not been verified in any other source.

³⁵⁶ Eulenstein, 'Eulenstein's Musical Career', p. 198.

³⁵⁷ Thompson, *Respectable Society*, p. 256. Brighton became much more accessible after the opening of the railway in 1841. See 'Opening of the London and Brighton Railway', *The Times*, 22 September 1841.

³⁵⁸ 'The Season at Brighton', *The Lady*, 4 November 1886, p. 370.

³⁵⁹ 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 10 October 1866. This advertisement says that she will attend Brighton weekly during the season. For later references to London and Brighton see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post* from 29 October 1883 until 31 December 1885.

³⁶⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 20 September 1890. Schwarz taught zither, guitar and mandolin.

³⁶¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 November 1898.

A few teachers may have hired premises away from their home. Appleby suggests that Ferdinand Pelzer used 55 Great Marlborough Street for his teaching.³⁶² He was listed at this address in the Post Office trade directory of 1845³⁶³ and two of his instruction books carried the same address in 1841 and the early 1850s.³⁶⁴ Extensive research has uncovered no family events there, such as children's birth records, thus confirming the theory. Frank Mott Harrison, who lived in Brighton, taught in London on Fridays in 1897 at his Studio, 60 Berner's Street, Oxford Street. This was the premises of Rogers and Sons, piano-forte maker, and Harrison probably rented a room for the day.³⁶⁵

The use of the word 'studio' was no doubt designed to impress students. Giulia Pelzer used the term and advertised her 'Pratten Studio' in the 1890s; it is known that this was her own home (Figure 4:2). After Pratten's death in 1895 Giulia took over her sister's publishing enterprise and used the term 'Pratten Studio' to promote her own teaching.³⁶⁶ She described the 'Studio' in a letter to the American guitarist Vahdah Olcott-Bickford in 1927: 'my Studio, which has been in this house 56 years, [is one of] 12 rooms, nice large ones'.³⁶⁷

³⁶² Wilfrid Appleby, 'The Story of a Guitar, Chapter II, Ferdinand Pelzer', *Guitar News*, 65 (May, 1962), 8-12 (p. 11).

³⁶³ *Post Office London Directory 1845*, p. 637.

³⁶⁴ Pelzer, *A Practical Guide*. Ferdinand Pelzer, *Instructions for the Guitar Tuned in E Major* (London: the Author, [1854]). This address was also used by Derwort. See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 28 May 1836.

³⁶⁵ 'Mr Frank Mott Harrison', *The Troubadour*, June 1897, p. 89. For Rogers & Son's address see 'Pianoforte-makers in England', <http://www.lieverbeeck.eu/Pianoforte-makers_England_r.htm> [accessed 14 September 2018].

³⁶⁶ For the first reference to the phrase 'Pratten Studio' see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 10 November 1896.

³⁶⁷ Northridge, California State University Oviatt Library, International Guitar Research Archive, Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Correspondence, Letter from Giulia Pelzer to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, 18 June 1927. VOBmm37p1A.



Figure 4:2. Number two, Southampton Place (formerly Southampton Street), Bloomsbury, where Giulia Pelzer lived from 1872 until her death in 1938.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ Giulia Pelzer's arrival at the house is confirmed by the entry of her husband, James King-Church, in the 1872 rate books. London, Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre, Poor Rate Records for 2, Southampton Street, 1872. Microfilm UTAH196. In 1938 the address was recorded on her death certificate.

Another way to look impressive was to use the term 'Academy'. A few teachers referred to 'Academies' in their advertisements. Britton mentions this phrase as used by Stephen Pratten, a teacher in Bristol, and says that this referred to his home and suggests that such a description was standard in the early nineteenth century.³⁶⁹ There are four teachers in the survey here who used this term. For them their 'Academy' may have been their home or studio since there is nothing to suggest the presence of any larger institution.³⁷⁰

Evidence has thus been found to show that teachers taught in their own homes, at the homes of their pupils and in dedicated teaching premises. Some of the best known teachers would visit wealthy pupils some of whom included royalty. However, the less well known also travelled and charged higher fees for doing so.

4.1.2. Schools

In the survey eleven teachers offered to visit schools. There were probably others as well who had not noted this in their advertisements, such as Catharina Pratten who made no mention of schools in her own newspaper notices but is known to have taught at Holland College for Ladies.³⁷¹ It is likely that guitar lessons were given to older pupils, chapter five outlines how research suggests that few young children may have learnt the guitar.

In the nineteenth century many upper middle class girls and the daughters of the wealthiest were educated at home although towards the end of the century a higher

³⁶⁹ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 245.

³⁷⁰ The Allen family, see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 April 1825; Cramer, see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 26 January 1891; Huerta and Madame Gomez, see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 15 February 1828 and Mademoiselle Rivière, see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 May 1830.

³⁷¹ For a list of professors at the college see 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 5 October 1864.

proportion were sent to schools.³⁷² Those middle-class girls who were sent to school were almost all sent to private schools³⁷³ and it has been estimated that in the mid-century around half of middle-class girls were attending one of these institutions.³⁷⁴ Many were very small homely establishments that were thought most suitable for girls. Information about them is hard to find because in many of the advertisements the owners were anonymised giving a library address for contact thus making it impossible to trace them. A valuable source of information early in the period is the *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory* of 1828 which listed some four hundred boarding schools for young ladies in the immediate environs of London.³⁷⁵ Here the number of pupils is given in just twenty-two of the girls' schools; three have as few as six whilst the average number is between fourteen and fifteen. While some of these particular places may have closed by 1837 nothing has been found to suggest that there was any great change in the general style of schools operating in the early Victorian years. Other sources from 1867-68 are the reports of the Royal Commission which enquired into education in schools in England and Wales; the assistant commissioner who investigated and reported on London was D. R. Fearon. He limited his investigation of girls' schools to establishments with forty or more pupils making exceptions for just three endowed schools. However, at the same time he noted that the majority of girls' schools in London had fewer than forty pupils and even added that the very small ones were too small to deserve the name school. He

³⁷² Dyhouse notes that many upper middle class girls were educated at home. See Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1981), p. 3. The Schools Inquiry Commission of the 1860s noted that the daughters of the wealthiest were educated at home. *Report of Schools Inquiry Commission*, Parliamentary Papers 1867-68, 20 vols (Cd. 3966), i, 10. The situation was changing by the 1890s when a later commission reported that 'many parents, of the richer classes, who had formerly employed private governesses, now send their daughters to [...] schools'. *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, Parliamentary Papers 1895, 9 vols (C.7862), i, 75.

³⁷³ Dyhouse *Girls Growing Up* p. 3. Private schools were so called because they were owned by private individuals. By 1894 there were some fee paying public schools, not owned by individuals, offering secondary education to girls. Most of these dated after 1870. See J. S. Pederson, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies* 15:1 (1975), 148.

³⁷⁴ De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 14.

³⁷⁵ *The Boarding School and London Masters' Directory*.

commented that finding information about many of the schools was challenging as some guarded their privacy and were reluctant to provide information about themselves. Some enquiries from commissioners were met with 'unrelenting hostility' because the proprietors saw their schools as extensions of the home and were therefore private places.³⁷⁶

These private schools were run by ladies and some writers, such as Stoddart, have said that they worked out of necessity.³⁷⁷ However, this simplification obscures complexities. De Bellaigue suggests how some middle class women were brought up expecting to work and not only successfully operated as entrepreneurs in a business world but were deeply dedicated to their profession in the way that Hannah Pipe was; she founded a school, Laleham.³⁷⁸ Whatever the reason women ran schools, the fact remained that few had any formal training. Fearon noted in his report that the main, and usually only, qualification of these ladies was gentility which was needed to provide an aura of social exclusivity.³⁷⁹ To collect their information the commissioners sent forms of inquiry to more than three hundred and fifty schools and received replies from more than two hundred. From these, one hundred were selected and the results were analysed. Of these one hundred only six confirmed that the 'Lady Principal' had received any professional training.³⁸⁰ What this training comprised was not specified and it is unclear what it could have been at a time when higher education for women was virtually non-existent; in any case there was a particularly English tradition of practice-based training for teachers.³⁸¹

One such 'Lady Principal' was Eliza Henchy (née Conroy), a guitar teacher who is included in the survey here. By 1861 she was widowed and running a school with two

³⁷⁶ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, VII, 382-83, 68-69.

³⁷⁷ Anna Stoddart, *Life and Letters of Hannah E. Pipe* (London: William Blackwood, 1908), p. 419.

³⁷⁸ De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, pp. 44, 97. For Hannah Pipe's career establishing a school, Laleham, see Stoddart, *Life and Letters*.

³⁷⁹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, VII, 384. Improvement was noticed in 1895: 'School - keeping is less frequently than it used to be the mere resort of ladies possessing no other means of support.' *Report of the Royal Commission* 1, 15.

³⁸⁰ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 557-60.

³⁸¹ De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 114.

nieces at twenty-one Notting Hill Square (now Campden Hill Square) with six boarding pupils, girls aged eight to fourteen.³⁸² There may have been day pupils as well. This square was noted as early as the 1830s as a popular choice for schools when there were eight such private ones. It was a quiet location with large houses close to Hyde Park and the fashionable West End of London.³⁸³ Henchy may have been running the school out of necessity. It is not clear what training she had; she certainly did not attend the Royal Academy of Music.³⁸⁴

The pupils at most of these girl's schools were middle-class.³⁸⁵ After attempting to define middle-class, Fearon, in his report to the Schools Enquiry Commission,³⁸⁶ included a survey of twenty-four pupils entering a London school. The occupations of the parents are given: three girls are daughters of 'ministers' (clergy), three of lawyers, two of doctors or surgeons, two of bankers, two of well-off tailors, one of a well-off farmer, one of a father well-off in the music business, one of an accountant, one of a literary man, one of an artist of limited means, one of a watchmaker of moderate means, and the others of fathers who were dead or who had unspecified professions.³⁸⁷ These occupations suggest that the pupils were middle class, and the report specifies that schools were for the better-off middle class as the fees are high.³⁸⁸

³⁸² 1861 census for 21 Notting Hill Square, Kensington, Public Record Office RG 9/14. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/MDXRG9_13_15-0320> [accessed 9 September 2018].

³⁸³ Susan Woodall, 'William Horsley: Music Master at Miss Black's Boarding-school for Young Ladies, 1828-1840'. *History of Education* 38:2 (2009), 171.

³⁸⁴ She is not included in the list of Royal Academy Students from the opening in 1823 until 1853 in *Musical Directory Register and Almanack and Royal Academy of Music Calendar for the year 1853* (London: Rudall, Rose and Carte, 1853), pp. 34-52.

³⁸⁵ De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 140.

³⁸⁶ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 236-38. Fearon defined class according to the age children needed to leave school to earn a wage. Those boys who left school before the age of fourteen were lower class, and those who could afford the luxury of education after the age of nineteen were defined as upper class. In between these was the middle class. For girls he kept the same definition with ages.

³⁸⁷ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 606-07.

³⁸⁸ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 387.

Music was an important part of the curriculum for girls. Instrumental music was one of the so-called accomplishments which, along with social exclusiveness, were what Fearon calls the 'the two great educational shibboleths' by which parents made judgements.³⁸⁹ Teaching was done by both resident governesses and visiting masters.³⁹⁰ Eminent masters were needed to impress parents and to help recruit pupils.³⁹¹ In 1866 Robert Mair, an educational agent, published a little guide for teachers, parents, and guardians. He claimed to have had sixteen years' experience of working in the education business and his insights are revealing.³⁹² He criticised schools that paid these masters large fees and could not therefore afford to pay enough to attract good governesses.³⁹³ Fearon was very critical of music teaching in particular, and of how large sums were wasted on expensive masters. He also noted that an inordinate amount of time was spent practising by girls who had little aptitude for the subject.³⁹⁴ Just how much time could be spent was illustrated in Mair's guide with an account by a resident governess of how her time was spent. In the morning two and a half hours were spent with the so-called 'hum-strum' of music and again in the afternoon more 'hum-strum' followed afternoon school.³⁹⁵ Recruiting pupils was an important issue in the business of running a school and those that failed to recruit sufficiently failed financially. In 1838 William Horsley tried to help a Mrs Powis whose school was in financial trouble.³⁹⁶ Eliza Henchy in Notting Hill Square

³⁸⁹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 384.

³⁹⁰ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 393.

³⁹¹ Woodall, 'William Horsley', p. 178.

³⁹² Robert Mair, *The Educator's Guide, or Handy-book, for Principals of Schools, Parents, Guardians, Governesses and Tutors* (London: Dean and Son, [1866]), p. xxx.

³⁹³ Mair, *Educator's Guide*, p. 110.

³⁹⁴ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 407.

³⁹⁵ Mair, *Educator's Guide*, p. 106.

³⁹⁶ Woodall, 'William Horsley', p. 179.

had no boarders by 1871³⁹⁷ and was having difficulties by 1873 when Ann Bartholomew recommended that she be considered for help from the Royal Society of Musicians.³⁹⁸ One assumes that this school was one of the less successful ones.

Two schools with which Catharina Pratten was connected are known and she may have worked in others as well. In the 1851 census she was living in a small one in St John's Wood at 7 Upper Hamilton Terrace.³⁹⁹ The head was Temperance Lea and eight girls between the ages of eleven and fifteen were resident. There may have been day pupils as well. It is possible that Pratten was giving some lessons in exchange for her board although no evidence to confirm this has been found.⁴⁰⁰ This was a time when Pratten was starting out on her teaching career in London and would probably not have been well known. Later, as already mentioned, she taught at Holland College for Ladies. Like Eliza Henchy's establishment, it was in Notting Hill Square, at number two, a large house that was, and still is, one of only two double fronted ones in the square (Figure 4:3).

³⁹⁷ 1871 census, 21 Notting Hill Square, Kensington, Public Record Office RG 10/34. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LNDRG10_33_36-0161> [accessed 9 September 2018]. Eliza and her two nieces remain, there are no scholars and there are three lodgers. Her occupation is no longer 'school mistress' but is now 'formerly professor of music' which would suggest she was not running a day school.

³⁹⁸ See above Chapter 3, Section 3.1.

³⁹⁹ 1851 census, 7, Upper Hamilton Terrace, Marylebone, Public Record Office HO 107/1491. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1491_1491-0853> [accessed 3 March 2017].

⁴⁰⁰ For an advertisement confirming that such arrangements existed see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 26 March 1862. A home was sought by the advertiser in exchange for lessons in a family or school.



Figure 4:3. Number two, Campden Hill Square (formerly Notting Hill Square).

It was described in 1864, when the freehold was for sale, as having “numerous [...] bed chambers, drawing and dining rooms and library, with the extensive buildings in the rear, consisting of a lecture room, music room, and class rooms, so arranged as to make, when required, a room seventy feet long”.⁴⁰¹ With this much space it must have been, unusually, a large school. As only ten resident scholars are listed in the 1861 census and seven in the 1871 census most of the girls were presumably day pupils.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ ‘Advertisements’, *The Times*, 1 June 1864.

⁴⁰² 1861 census, 2 Notting Hill Square, Kensington, Public Record Office RG 9/11. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8767/images/MDXRG9_13_15-0314> [accessed 4 January 2018]. 1871 census, 2 Notting Hill Square, Kensington, Public Record Office RG 10/34. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7619/images/LNDRG10_33_36-0156> [accessed 4 January 2018].

Pratten taught guitar there between 1865 and 1867, by which time she was a well-established teacher.⁴⁰³ She was among an impressive group of visiting music teachers which included on 6 January 1866 Messrs Sterndale Bennett, Brinley Richards and Francesco Berger for piano.⁴⁰⁴ Mr Chatterton taught harp; singing was taught by Signor Garcia, Mr Benson, and Madame Berger-Lascelles. The concertina was taught by Signor Blagrove. Sterndale Bennett was a sought-after musician and was appointed Principal of the Royal Academy of Music in 1866,⁴⁰⁵ and five of the other teachers at the school were also at some time or other on the staff there.⁴⁰⁶ It is an indication of Pratten's standing that she is listed with these musicians. How much time these high-profile people spent there is not clear. Most of them would have had other teaching commitments in addition to their performing work in the way that William Horsley did in the 1820s and 1830s.⁴⁰⁷ In the same period that he was attending Holland College Sterndale Bennett was not only principal of the Royal Academy of Music but was also attending Queen's College, Harley Street, as teacher of musical composition and periodical examiner of instrumentalists.⁴⁰⁸ In addition, he attended one much smaller school. How he worked there may indicate how guitar teachers in other schools also worked. This school was Laleham, owned and run by Miss Pipe, which had by 1862 twenty-five girls boarding there.⁴⁰⁹ Bennett taught

⁴⁰³ For lists of teachers at the College that included Pratten see 'Advertisements', *The Times*, from 14 January 1865 until 24 April 1866. For a later list which included her see 'Advertisements', *The Athenæum*, 30 March 1867, p. 402.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 6 January 1866.

⁴⁰⁵ Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 42.

⁴⁰⁶ Richards, Chatterton, Garcia and Blagrove are all listed as staff at the Academy in the *Musical Directory*, 1853 pp. 27-28. For Berger's appointment see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 43.

⁴⁰⁷ Woodall, 'William Horsley', p. 179. In early 1829 Horsley was teaching at six schools.

⁴⁰⁸ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii, 567. Bennett was one of the first teachers at the school when it was founded in 1848. At that time he started harmony classes for young ladies, possibly the first person to do so. Unfortunately they were not a success. James Sterndale Bennett, *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 376-377.

⁴⁰⁹ Stoddart, *Life and Letters*, p. 103.

advanced music lessons in 1861 assisted by his pupil, Mrs Taylor.⁴¹⁰ This lady may have had a role as an apprentice and probably gave most of the lessons. By 1867 Fräulein Heinrich, presumably a music governess, was in charge of music and Bennett attended on Saturdays to hear what each girl had practised.⁴¹¹ From these accounts it is clear that some of the teaching was done by a resident 'governess'.

Many teachers would have taught in girls' schools, which were often very small, where middle and upper-class girls took instrumental lessons. Some of these institutions employed well-known musicians, such as Catharina Pratten, whose presence would have helped attract new pupils to the schools. However, much of the day to day teaching was undoubtedly undertaken by resident governesses.

4.1.3. Music Colleges

A number of music colleges were founded in the nineteenth century, nearly all in the second half. By 1900 thirty-three were listed in London directories and their variety can be confusing.⁴¹² The two most prominent were the Royal Academy of Music (1823) and the Royal College of Music (1883). Both had ambitions to train professional musicians and offered full time courses. The Academy originally intended to train students who could compete with foreign musicians and offered a full curriculum.⁴¹³ Founded much later, the College tried to set professional standards⁴¹⁴ and students were required to follow a regular curriculum; lessons in single subjects only were not available.⁴¹⁵ Neither of these institutions officially taught the guitar in the nineteenth century, no doubt in part

⁴¹⁰ Stoddart, *Life and Letters*, p. 100.

⁴¹¹ Stoddart, *Life and Letters*, p. 173.

⁴¹² Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 106.

⁴¹³ Rohr, *Careers*, pp. 79-81.

⁴¹⁴ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 110.

⁴¹⁵ For the prospectus see *The Year's Music 1899* ed. by A. C. R. Carter (London: J. S. Virtue, 1899), pp. 55-62.

because of some prejudice against, and dislike of, the instrument.⁴¹⁶ This view lingered well into the twentieth century but began to soften when Julian Bream was admitted to the Royal College on a scholarship by the principal, George Dyson, in 1949. Guitar tuition was not available, so the young Bream studied composition and piano with the understanding that he would continue to perform on the guitar. The concerts in which he took part included some at the College itself.⁴¹⁷

Appleby has claimed that the guitar was taught without official recognition at the Royal Academy of Music in the second half of the nineteenth century by a German named Konrad Adam Stehling.⁴¹⁸ No other reference to this has been found although two people in the survey who taught guitar had been students there. They were Madame Cherer (née Hughes) and Miss Moore White.⁴¹⁹ It is likely that there was some truth in Appleby's account; in the 1940s and 1950s he would have met people who were playing the guitar in the 1890s and he could have been told about it. Stehling may have gone into the Academy or, more likely, he was an outside teacher to whom several students went. No mention was made of the Academy in Stehling's obituary in 1902 and note was merely made that he had been a theatrical orchestral player and guitarist.⁴²⁰

Other colleges that operated with greater flexibility at less expense did officially offer guitar tuition.⁴²¹ One such was the privately owned London Academy of Music, founded in 1861, where Stehling was also the guitar teacher.⁴²² Most tuition was given in private

⁴¹⁶ See above Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

⁴¹⁷ Stuart Button, *Julian Bream, The Foundations of a Musical Career* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), pp. 109-13.

⁴¹⁸ Wilfrid Appleby, 'The Guitar Recognised in Britain', *Guitar News*, 19 (June, 1954), 5.

⁴¹⁹ Eliza Hughes is listed as a current student at the Academy in the *Musical Directory 1853*, p. 53. For Miss White's advertisement which includes 'Cert. R.A.M.' see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 12 May 1896.

⁴²⁰ 'Obituary', *Banjo World*, May 1902, p. 109.

⁴²¹ Ehrlich describes how there was a 'proliferation of conservatoires'; some would have been loose associations of teachers that rarely sought to offer professional training. See Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp. 105-06.

⁴²² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 27 August 1890.

lessons and the course offered included a principal study and three other branches of study as well. All this could be fitted into one day a week for those who did not live near. The cost was three guineas for twelve weeks if attending the main branch at St George's Hall, Langham Place, or four guineas if attending one of the branches in Kensington or Brighton.⁴²³ This compared with a termly fee for those without scholarships of eleven guineas at the Royal Academy and twelve guineas at the Royal College.⁴²⁴

More information is available about the Guildhall School of Music which provides an indication of who many of the students were. Founded in 1880 by the Corporation of London a prospectus of 1891 clearly set out its purpose of 'providing high class instruction in the art and science of Music, at moderate cost'. This cost varied according to the teacher and for guitar lessons was three guineas for twelve half hour lessons. Students could just take these lessons with nothing else in addition if they wished. This low cost as compared to the Royal Academy and Royal College coupled with long opening hours, from eight-thirty in the morning until eight-thirty at night, made lessons much more accessible.⁴²⁵ It was aimed at amateurs until 1910, usually middle-class girls.⁴²⁶ A press report outlined this clearly: 'the aim of its founders was, and is [...] to provide a first-rate school for amateurs and at reasonable fees, [...] to foster a love of music and produce both fair performers and intelligent listeners.'⁴²⁷ Giulia Pelzer was the guitar teacher there from 1885 until her retirement in 1901.⁴²⁸ Two pupils' concert programmes survive which

⁴²³ For these particulars see 'Advertisements', *The Year's Music 1899*, p. 2; Lucie Heaton Armstrong, 'Music as a Profession for Women', *Woman's Signal*, 19 August 1897, pp. 10-11.

⁴²⁴ 'London Musical Institutions, Colleges and Schools', *The Year's Music 1899*, pp. 49-74, (pp. 51, 57).

⁴²⁵ London, London Metropolitan Archives, Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives, General Prospectuses, CLA/056/AD/02/001.

⁴²⁶ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 114.

⁴²⁷ 'Letter to the Editor', *City Press*, 31 October 1894. The reference to 'fair performers' would have referred to performers of some ability and not to young women.

⁴²⁸ 'Madame Giulia Pelzer', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 12 November 1904, p. 9512. This states that she retired from the Guildhall School of Music after having taught there for sixteen years.

confirm that many of her pupils there were girls although, as already outlined in chapter three,⁴²⁹ she also had some male pupils. An afternoon concert of 24 March 1898 was given in the Practice Room of the School, in which all but one of the performers were girls. On 28 February 1899 in the same place all the performers were girls.⁴³⁰

Several other colleges sought to cater for a similar clientele. The London College of Music was by 1896 offering private lessons and day and evening classes; Arthur Stanley taught guitar there from 1895.⁴³¹ The London Organ School was a private enterprise established in 1865 and, in spite of its name, offered lessons on many instruments. Follini, about whom very little is known, was teaching guitar between 1887 and 1888⁴³² and later Albert Cramer (1865-1931) gave classes there in 1899.⁴³³ Cramer was a pupil of Pratten⁴³⁴ and subsequently became one of the foremost guitarists in England in the late 1890s and early twentieth century. Trinity College appointed Frank Mott Harrison to teach guitar in 1897.⁴³⁵

Many music colleges offered guitar tuition in the later Victorian years with the exceptions of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music. Others, that catered for part-time students, included the London Academy of Music and the Guildhall School of Music where students were largely middle class girls.

4.1.4. Other Institutions

Evidence has been found from the survey of other institutions that offered guitar tuition. Four of these are described here, chosen because they illustrate the way in which guitar

⁴²⁹ See above Chapter 3, Section 3.2.

⁴³⁰ Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives, Concert Programmes, 1897-1898 CLA/056/AD/03007, 1899-1900 CLA/056/AD/03008.

⁴³¹ 'Advertisements', *The Year's Music 1896* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1896), p. 5. For notice that Stanley taught there see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 16 October 1895.

⁴³² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 11 October 1887, 23 June 1888.

⁴³³ 'Advertisements', *The Year's Music 1899*, p. 3.

⁴³⁴ 'Biographical Sketches, Mr A. F. Cramer', *Troubadour*, October 1896, p. 188.

⁴³⁵ 'We are glad to hear', *The Troubadour*, August 1897, p. 139.

tuition was opening to a wider clientele as the closing years of the Victorian era approached. One of these was the Crystal Palace School of Art, Science and Literature which offered classes in harp and guitar in its ladies' division by 1872. The Crystal Palace had opened in Sydenham in 1856. Music classes were first advertised there in the 1860-61 season and took place in the daytime.⁴³⁶ An indication of the aspiring middle-class pupils expected was given by the account of a new Domestic Economy class at the School in 1872. The curriculum of this class included 'hiring and dismissal of servants' and 'a lady's relation to her servants and housekeeper' with the overall aim to 'make a lady an accomplished ruler of her own home'. The harp and guitar classes were taken by Madame Dryden; it is not clear if she had separate classes for the two instruments or whether they were taught together.⁴³⁷ As she was a harp player and daughter of the harp maker Emanuel Serquet⁴³⁸ there may have been a bias towards the harp. She was sufficiently regarded to be included in a list of most eminent harpists who took part in John Thomas's concert of Welsh national music in St James's Hall in 1862.⁴³⁹

An unusual place in which four of the teachers included in Appendix A worked during the 1890s was the Grosvenor Ladies' Arts and Crafts Studios. It was unusual partly because it was run entirely by women as a cooperative and also because of the curious selection of subjects in which tuition was offered. This organisation did not have a long life; it was first advertised in April 1896 as the Grosvenor Ladies' Arts and Crafts Association in April 1896 and last advertised in May 1899.⁴⁴⁰ The Association was described in detail in 1897. Eight lady professors taught music, miniature-painting, wood-carving, dancing the minuet, and recitation. These ladies shared the expenses and the facilities included a lunch and

⁴³⁶ For an account of the school see Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 166 - 72.

⁴³⁷ 'Education at the Crystal Palace', *Morning Post*, 14 October 1872.

⁴³⁸ Baldwin Hamey, *Emanuel Serquet, Harp Maker*. Available at: <<https://londonstreetviews.wordpress.com/2015/08/20/emanuel-serquet-harp-maker/>> [accessed 5 April 2018].

⁴³⁹ 'Welsh National Music', *Musical World*, 12 July 1862, p. 444.

⁴⁴⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 30 April 1896 and 1 May 1899.

tea room. In addition to teaching, the Studios operated as an agency for six of the music teachers who were available for concerts and 'at home entertainments'.⁴⁴¹ They opened at 115 Ebury Street but success necessitated a move to larger premises at 23 Buckingham Palace Road in 1898.⁴⁴²

The principal and instigator of the enterprise was Alice Penderel-Moody (1869-1959). She offered elocution and recitation classes⁴⁴³ and took charge of finding premises and selling the business after the Studios closed.⁴⁴⁴ She started out with this entrepreneurial venture at the age of twenty-six, and later in life concentrated her attention on lace making, and setting up the Revival Pillow Lace School in Sloane Square.⁴⁴⁵ Besides the Principal, the teachers who worked at the Studios for its entire existence were Mary Symons (piano) and Madeline Hardy (voice). In other subjects there was a significant turnover of staff, indicating that possibly not everything ran smoothly. Marie Ernst was the first violin teacher⁴⁴⁶ but was replaced by Graily Hewitt in October 1896.⁴⁴⁷ Among other subjects briefly taught were dancing and fencing in 1896 and 1897, shorthand in 1897,

⁴⁴¹ 'Musical Notes', *The Lady*, 11 November 1897, p. 685.

⁴⁴² 'Sale and Exchange', *Hearth and Home*, 17 March 1898, p. 780.

⁴⁴³ For elocution lessons see *Morning Post*, 30 April 1896. For recitation and Shakespeare tuition see *Morning Post*, 14 January 1899.

⁴⁴⁴ For advertisement seeking premises see *Morning Post*, 27 November 1895. For the offer to sell the Studios and Concert Agency see 'Advertisements', *Musical Times*, August 1900, p. 510.

⁴⁴⁵ She came to be regarded as an expert in lace making and its revival. She published two books: *Devon Pillow Lace: Its History and How to Make It* (London: Cassell, 1907), and *Lace Making and Collecting, an Elementary Handbook* (London: Cassell, 1909). The school in Sloane Square had branches including one in Honiton, Devon, where, in the spirit of the arts and crafts movement, local women were trained to make lace in their own homes. See *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 March 1906. Penderel-Moody was sufficiently regarded that the English Colonial Office paid for her to go to Saint Helena in 1907 to set up a lace making school to train local women at a time when it was felt that the islanders needed economic help after the removal of the garrison. See 'St Helena and the Lace Industry', *The Times*, 23 November 1907. Businesses run by women were not unusual at this time, for example research in Glasgow has shown that education and dress-making were the 'staples' of such enterprises, see Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, 'The Economic Role of Middle-class Women in Victorian Glasgow', *Women's History Review*, 9:4 (2000), 791-814, (p.807).

⁴⁴⁶ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 30 April 1896.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 3 October 1896.

chip carving and marqueterie [*sic*] in 1896, woodcarving in 1897 and 1898, and miniature painting in 1898.⁴⁴⁸ Four guitar teachers at different times worked at the Studios; their brief periods there were similar to other staff but the instrument's continued presence is an indication of its popularity. Beatrice Windett taught guitar and mandolin in 1896;⁴⁴⁹ Mary Hurst taught guitar in 1897;⁴⁵⁰ by May 1898 Agnes Williamson was teaching guitar,⁴⁵¹ and in 1899 Alice Glyn was teaching guitar and mandolin.⁴⁵² Little detail is known about these teachers.

It is not completely clear who the pupils would have been for these various activities. A fee of one guinea was quoted for a course of ten lessons making tuition considerably less expensive than at the Guildhall School of Music.⁴⁵³ In addition, the organisers aimed for flexibility making it clear that pupils could enter at any time and could have single lessons only if required.⁴⁵⁴ The office hours were from ten to five on weekdays⁴⁵⁵ and refreshments were offered for luncheons and teas.⁴⁵⁶ Those lessons that were held during the daytime would have catered for leisured middle class pupils. However, evening classes were also available for 'ladies engaged during the day'.⁴⁵⁷ This, with the low fees, suggests that a wide clientele was catered for.

⁴⁴⁸ These classes were listed in advertisements in the *Morning Post* on these dates: dancing and fencing with Miss Abbott Fuller, 30 April 1896 and 23 January 1897. Shorthand with Miss Springett, 23 January 1897. Chip carving and marqueterie (*sic*) with Miss Elizabeth Williams, 30 April 1896 and 3 October 1896. Woodcarving with Edith Bell, 23 January 1897 and 11 February 1899. Miniature painting with Miss Beatrice Smallfield, 20 October 1898.

⁴⁴⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 15 June 1896.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 23 January 1897.

⁴⁵¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 12 May 1898.

⁴⁵² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 14 January 1899.

⁴⁵³ For the fees charged at the Studios see 'Advertisements', *Hearth and Home*, 17 March 1898, p. 780. As noted earlier the Guildhall School of Music charged three guineas for twelve lessons.

⁴⁵⁴ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 4 February 1899.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 16 March 1898.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Musical Notes', *The Lady*, 11 November 1897, p. 685.

⁴⁵⁷ 'Advertisements', *Hearth and Home*, 7 October 1897, p. 826.

Another institution that provided guitar tuition was the Polytechnic in Regent Street, nearly always referred to as the Poly. This Poly was opened by the philanthropist Quintin Hogg in 1882 after he purchased the lease of the premises of the former Royal Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street. Into the building he moved his Young Men's Christian Institute which had outgrown its home in Long Acre.⁴⁵⁸ This Institute was essentially a club whose members, young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, used its social and sporting facilities.⁴⁵⁹ In addition, and importantly, the Poly was an educational institution where, until the First World War, most of the students studied part-time in the evenings.⁴⁶⁰ At that time not all students were Institute members and nor did all the members take classes, although those that did received a discount on class fees. Most students in this period were skilled working-class individuals.⁴⁶¹ Hogg's system was extremely successful and was copied by other institutions.⁴⁶² One that operated on similar lines was the People's Palace, in the East End of London in Mile End Road, which was opened by Queen Victoria in 1887 and likewise catered for the 'respectable working class'.⁴⁶³

In its early days the Poly encouraged the poorer members of society to pursue respectable activities in their spare time.⁴⁶⁴ This pursuit of respectability, which was so crucial to Victorian society, entailed emulation of one's betters and the sporting clubs and

⁴⁵⁸ Elaine Penn, 'Introduction', in *Educating Mind, Body and Spirit* by Helen Glew and others (Cambridge: Granta Editions, 2013), pp. 1-5, (p. 1).

⁴⁵⁹ Michael Heller, 'A History of Student Life at the Polytechnic', in *Educating Mind, Body and Spirit*, pp. 45-79, (p. 86).

⁴⁶⁰ Heller 'A History', p. 82.

⁴⁶¹ Heller 'A History', p. 87. For an example of the fee structure see 'Special Classes for Young Women' and 'School of Music', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 29 September 1892, p. 160. The fee for the mandolin and guitar class was four shillings per quarter for members and five shillings for non-members.

⁴⁶² Heller 'A History', p. 49.

⁴⁶³ Walter Besant, 'The People's Palace', *The North American Review* 147:380 (1888), pp.56-59.

⁴⁶⁴ Helen Glew, 'Quinton Hogg and his legacy', in *Educating Mind, Body and Spirit*, pp. 7-43, (p. 46).

musical activities can be seen in this light.⁴⁶⁵ With this in mind, the way in which the guitar and mandolin were introduced well illustrates how they were usually seen as instruments played by middle-class women. From the outset in 1883 a number of classes at the Poly in the main Regent Street building were open to both men and women. They included photography, elementary inorganic chemistry, practical plane and solid geometry, and French. Classes were also added to pass the University of London matriculation along with clerical and secretarial classes. In many of these the women worked alongside the men.⁴⁶⁶ It was not, however, until 1888 when Quintin Hogg acquired an additional building near to Regent Street at 15 Langham Place that women could benefit from being Institute members. Here was established the Young Women's Christian Institute which provided for women facilities similar to those provided for men at their Institute in Regent Street. Most of the girls who were members between 1888 and 1904 were shop girls and clerks although none were refused admission if they could pay the annual subscription of five shillings and were within the set age limits of sixteen and twenty-five.⁴⁶⁷ The girls had their own social facilities and clubs including a 'Mandoline Society' dating from 1888.⁴⁶⁸ With this new and separate building classes were started that were open to women only,⁴⁶⁹ among which was guitar and mandolin tuition from Mr F. P. Smith. The lessons were announced on 25 October 1888; they would be on Thursday evenings with two classes of one hour and the numbers limited to nine students in each.⁴⁷⁰ It is not clear if

⁴⁶⁵ At the People's Palace this ethos was illustrated by the architecture of the library, an octagon designed by E. R. Robinson inspired by the Reading Room in the British Museum. See 'History of the College and the Octagon', *London Topographical Society Newsletter*, May 2017, p. i. Both octagons survive today but neither is used as a library.

⁴⁶⁶ Helen Glew, 'Women at the Polytechnic', in *Educating Mind Body and Spirit*, pp. 121-57, (pp. 124-25).

⁴⁶⁷ Wood, *Polytechnic*, pp. 157-58.

⁴⁶⁸ 'The Story of the Poly Women's Institute', *Polytechnic Magazine*, January 1950, pp. 7-9, (p. 9).

⁴⁶⁹ Glew 'Women', pp. 126-29.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Our Sisters' Institute, *Polytechnic Magazine*, 25 October 1888, pp. 262-63, (p. 263).

one class was given to each instrument or whether both were mixed. The classes were first listed in a timetable on 10 January 1889 (Figure 4:4).⁴⁷¹

A comparison of the subjects listed in the women's special classes with the subjects open to all reveals that the guitar and mandolin were, at that time, clearly regarded as women's instruments. Most of the subjects offered to women were also available to men in other classes. The few that were not were in effect a separate curriculum, they were: harmonium, dress making, millinery, cookery, needlework, mantle making, along with guitar and mandolin.⁴⁷² These instruments were thus regarded in the same light as these other activities.

⁴⁷¹ 'Our Sisters' Page', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 10 January 1889, p. 25.

⁴⁷² The comparison was made looking at the timetable of classes, all claiming to be for both sexes, see 'Preliminary Time Table of Classes', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 27 December 1888, p. 411.

Our Sisters' Page.

Polytechnic Young Women's Christian Institute, 15, LANGHAM PLACE.

President - - - QUINTIN HOGG, Esq.

Young women between the ages of 16 and 25 are eligible for membership.

The Institute is open every evening, from 6.30 till 10. Sundays and Bank Holidays excepted.

The Subscription is 1s. 6d. per quarter, or 5s. per annum, payable in advance, entitling members, amongst other advantages, to the use of the Reading-room, Social-rooms; admission to the Polytechnic Concerts, Lectures, Entertainments, etc., at members' rates; and the privilege of joining any of the classes at greatly reduced fees.

The Polytechnic Swimming Bath will be reserved on Friday nights, during the summer, for members of the Institute and their friends. Admission 3d. for members, 4d. for friends.

Concerts, Entertainments, Lectures, etc., are held throughout the year.

Bible Classes are conducted on Monday Evenings at 8.30, and on Sunday Afternoons at 3.30, by Mrs. QUINTIN HOGG and Mrs. J. E. K. STUDD.

Candidates may book their names at the Office upon payment of 1s. Registration Fee, and will be admitted as vacancies occur, preference being given to those joining classes or newly arrived from the country.

Further particulars may be had on application to

ROBERT MITCHELL, Sec.

TIME TABLE OF SPECIAL CLASSES.

(FOR YOUNG WOMEN ONLY)

SUBJECT.	TEACHER.	Day.	Hours.	Fees to Membs.	Fees to N-Ms.
*Ambulance	Andrew Clark, Esq.		8.0-9.15	0 6	1 6
Arithmetic	Andrew Sarll, A.K.C.	Wed.	8.0-10.0	2 0	3 0
Book-keeping	" "	Wed.	9.0-10.0	2 0	3 0
French, Beginners ..	Mons. Lumaye ..	Tues.	7.0-8.0	4 0	6 0
" Elementary	" "	Tues.	7.0-8.0	4 0	6 0
" Intermediate	" "	Tues.	8.0-9.0	4 0	6 0
" Advanced	" "	Tues.	9.0-10.0	4 0	6 0
Elocution	Mrs. S. L. Hasluck	Tues.	6.0-7.30	3 0	5 0
Civil Service	Mr. D. A. Isaacs,		8.0-10.0	3 0	5 0
Female Clerks	B.A., C.I.	Mon.	6.30-10.0	10 0	12 0
" Sorters	" "	Wed.	6.30-8.30	10 0	12 0
" Telegraph	" "	Wed.	6.30-8.30	8 0	10 0
Learners	" "	Tues.	7.0-8.30	2 0	3 0
Writing	" "	Tues.	8.0-10.0	2 0	4 0
Elementary Class, including Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, &c. ..	Mr. D. Woodhall	Tues.	8.0-10.0	2 0	4 0
Shorthand, Elem. ..	Mr. J. Horton ..	Thurs.	8.0-9.0	3 6	5 0
" Adv.	" "	Thurs.	9.0-10.0	3 6	5 0
Violin, Beginners ..	Mr. Jackson ..	Wed.	6.0-7.0	4 6	6 0
" Elem.	" "	Wed.	7.0-8.0	4 6	6 0
" Inter.	" "	Wed.	8.0-9.0	4 6	6 0
" Beginners	" "	Wed.	9.0-10.0	4 6	6 0
" Advanced	" "	Friday	6.30-8.0	4 6	6 0
Ladies' Orchestra ..	" "	Friday	8.0-10.0	3 0	5 0
† Piano	Mr. G. K. Egerton and Miss Jessie Davies, R.A.M.	Every Even.	7.0-10.0	10 6	12 6
† Harmonium	" "	Tues.	7.0-10.0	6 0	7 6
Dress Making	Mrs. Elliott Scrivener	Friday	8.0-10.0	6 0	7 6
Millinery	Madame Noble ..	Wed.	8.0-10.0	3 0	4 6
Cookery, Plain	Mrs. Sharman ..	Mon.	8.0-10.0	6 0	7 6
" High Class	Mrs. Elliott Scrivener	Friday	7.0-10.0	6 0	7 6
Plain & Art Needlework and Dress Making ..	" "	Thurs.	7.0-8.0	4 0	6 6
German, Elem.	Mr. W. Heinemann	Thurs.	8.0-9.0	4 0	6 0
" Inter.	" "	Thurs.	9.0-10.0	4 0	6 0
" Adv.	" "	Thurs.	7.30-9.30	6 0	7 0
Mantle Making	Madame Noble ..	Thurs.	7.0-9.0	6 0	6 0
Guitar & Mandoline ..	Mr. F. P. Smith ..	Thurs.	7.0-9.0	6 0	6 0

* Full particulars will be duly announced for this course of lectures.

† As these lessons are given privately, students must book the times they desire to attend.

|| Fees include the use of necessary music.

Members of the Institute are also entitled to join any of the Polytechnic Classes (nearly 200 in number) at ordinary members' rates.

For list of these classes see last page but one of "Polytechnic Magazine."

COMING EVENTS.

THURSDAY.—Industrial Exhibition, from 10 to 10.

FRIDAY.—Industrial Exhibition, from 10 to 10.

SATURDAY.—Industrial Exhibition, from 10 to 10. (Closing Day).

SUNDAY.—Bible Class in Room 1, at 3.15. (Mrs. J. E. K. Studd.)

THE NATION'S DEAD.

Four hundred thousand men

The brave—the good—the true,
The tangled wood, in mountain glen,
On battle plain, in prison pen,

Lie dead for me and you!
Four hundred thousand of the brave
Have made our ransomed soil their grave,
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

In many a fevered swamp,

By many a black bayou,
In many a cold and frozen camp,
The weary sentinel ceased his tramp,
And died for me and you!

From Western plain to ocean tide
Are stretched the graves of those who died
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

On many a bloody plain

Their ready swords they drew,
And poured their life-blood, like the rain,
A home—a heritage to gain,
To gain for me and you!

Our brothers mustered by our side;
They marched, they fought, and bravely died
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

Up many a fortress wall

They charged—those boys in blue—
Mid surging smoke, the volley'd ball:
The bravest were the first to fall!

To fall for you and me!
These noble men—the nation's pride—
Four hundred thousand men have died
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

In treason's prison-hold

Their martyr spirits grew
To stature like the Saints of old,
While amid agonies untold,
They starved for me and you!

The good, the patient, and the tried,
Four hundred thousand men have died
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

A debt we ne'er can pay

To them is justly due,
And to the nation's latest day
Our children's children still shall say,
"They died for me and you!"

Four hundred thousand of the brave
Made this, our ransomed soil, their grave
For me and you!

Good friend, for me and you!

Notices to Correspondents.

11878.—The report was given a week later.

W.B.—The lists are now being finally revised before being re-set. You shall, amongst others, receive attention.

W.G.—Not quite up to mark. Try again. Enquire at Barrier for letter.

8636.—Enquire at Barrier.

14386.—The list of portraits to be given in the *Poly. Magazine* is at present quite full.

Figure 4:4. 'Our Sisters' Page', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 10 January 1889, p. 25. An early timetable showing Guitar and Mandolin classes.

The Poly and the People's Palace shared the same teacher of mandolin and guitar from 1892, Mr B. M. Jenkins.⁴⁷³ In both places he ran mandolin and guitar bands and for some events he combined the two groups. His obvious success with this can be seen in the reviews of concerts given by this combined group at Crystal Palace. The first reference to such an event was in 1894 when the Polytechnic and People's Palace Mandolin and Guitar bands played there as part of a London Sunday School Choir Festival.⁴⁷⁴ These concerts at Crystal Palace were annual events after this, the Polytechnic Magazine in July 1898 noting that the players were in good form and a credit to their conductor.⁴⁷⁵ In 1899 the combined bands had some one hundred and fifty performers of whom around one hundred and thirty were women who wore white dresses with coloured ribbons tied to their instruments. A reviewer in the same magazine again praised them saying that their interpretations reflected the highest credit to both the instructor and the instructed.⁴⁷⁶ On this occasion those that had arrived early were photographed on the terrace of Crystal Palace (Figure 4:5).

⁴⁷³ The first reference seen to Jenkins's classes at the Poly is in the timetable of classes for September 1892. See 'Time Table of Evening Classes', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 29 September 1892, pp. 158-60, (p. 160). The first reference seen to his teaching at the People's Palace was in 1892. See 'Calendar of evening Classes' session 1892-93. London, Queen Mary University of London Archives, People's Palace Calendar 1890-1901, QMC/PP/12/7.

⁴⁷⁴ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 13 June 1894.

⁴⁷⁵ 'Institute Gossip', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 13 July 1898, pp. 15-16, (p. 16).

⁴⁷⁶ 'The Poly. Mandoline Band at the Crystal Palace', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 28 June 1899, p. 329.



Figure 4:5. The Polytechnic and People's Palace Mandoline and Guitar Band at Crystal Palace, 20 June 1899. Mr Jenkins, the conductor, is in the middle of the second row without an instrument.⁴⁷⁷

Mandolin lessons became available to men at the Poly by October 1893 as the instrument became increasingly popular and as the taboos which limited particular instruments to male or female players were disappearing.⁴⁷⁸ Guitar lessons were available to men by 1903.⁴⁷⁹ Unfortunately, not many timetables for Music Classes have been found relating to the later 1890s and it is therefore unclear when the change was

⁴⁷⁷ Available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Polytechnic_peoples_palace_mandoline_guitar_band_1899_crystal_palace.jpg> [accessed 22 October 2017].

⁴⁷⁸ 'Time Table of Evening Classes', *Polytechnic Magazine*, 4 October 1893, pp. 657-59, (p. 658).

⁴⁷⁹ Both guitar and mandolin lessons were shown to be available to both sexes, see London, University of Westminster Archive, Records of Regent Street Polytechnic, General Prospectus 1902, RSP/5/4/3, p. 16.

made. At the People's Palace mandolin lessons were offered to both sexes from the outset although no reference in the Palace calendars has been found for guitar lessons in the 1890s.⁴⁸⁰ However, the Mandolin and Guitar Band which was established by the summer of 1894 when it performed at the Crystal Palace must have included some guitarists.⁴⁸¹ It is possible that Jenkins gave private guitar lessons.

The variety of places in which guitar teachers worked provides some evidence that interest in the instrument was maintained throughout the Victorian age. These teachers taught in homes, schools and music colleges. Latterly other institutions also offered guitar lessons, including the Crystal Palace School, the Grosvenor Ladies' Arts and Crafts Studios, and the Regent Street Poly.

4.2. The Business of Teaching

The teachers were working in a business world and a view of how they operated as entrepreneurs can tell us more about the identity of the amateurs. The fees that teachers charged were part of the business. These fees varied greatly starting from the professional lady selling a guitar who offered twelve free lessons to the purchaser⁴⁸² to those who charged considerably more. The prices in shillings per lesson that were found are illustrated in Table 4:1.

⁴⁸⁰ A comment was made about the mandolin players in 1894: 'It is really wonderful what a volume of sound these enthusiastic ladies and gentlemen extract from their somewhat diminutive instrument.' See 'Notes', *People's Palace Journal and Educational Herald*, March 1894, p. 91.

⁴⁸¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 13 June 1894.

⁴⁸² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 30 May 1853.

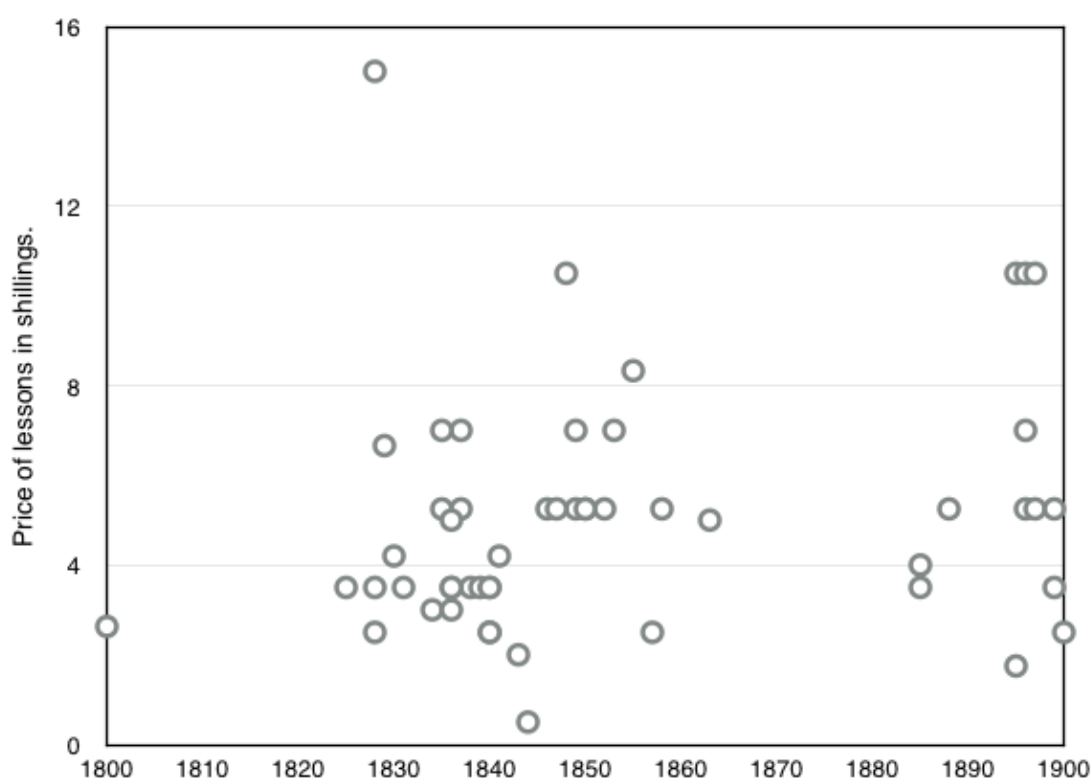


Table 4:1 Prices per lesson seen in the survey as charged by named and anonymous teachers.⁴⁸³ The highest price in 1828 was charged by Sola and the lowest in 1844 of sixpence was charged by an anonymous advertiser.⁴⁸⁴

The average cost of a lesson from this data in the 1830s was nearly four shillings and sixpence and this rose to just over six shillings in the 1890s. This is at variance with Ehrlich's claim that tuition became cheaper later in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁵ However, although not well illustrated in the table, some evidence has been found to support Rohr's finding that incomes fell in the 1830s.⁴⁸⁶ Sola was charging fifteen shillings per lesson in

⁴⁸³ Where teachers gave a range of prices the lowest has been used. Where teachers changed their prices over different years both prices have been entered. The teachers who changed their prices were: Sola (1828 fifteen shillings, 1840 two shillings and sixpence, see *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory*, p. 107. *Morning Post*, 8 December 1840) and Ventura (1835 one guinea for four lessons, 1836 three pounds for twelve lessons, see *Morning Post*, 30 May 1835 and 2 April 1836).

⁴⁸⁴ *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory* p. 107. *Morning Post*, 24 April 1844.

⁴⁸⁵ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 78.

⁴⁸⁶ Rohr, *Careers*, p. 136.

1828⁴⁸⁷ but in 1840 he was advertising reduced terms of half a crown (two shillings and sixpence) per lesson.⁴⁸⁸ How representative these charges are of the music profession at that time is hard to say since a total of only fifty-three prices were found in the survey. This number may be too small to draw any firm conclusions, although it is clear that these prices would have been beyond the means of lower middle class families.⁴⁸⁹

A further issue in understanding the cost of learning is the frequency of lessons, rarely mentioned in advertisements. Although occasionally a teacher specified weekly lessons, as did an advertiser in 1843,⁴⁹⁰ evidence has been found to suggest that some teachers gave lessons twice weekly thus making tuition much more expensive. This can be seen by the way a few teachers put charges for both individual lessons and lessons per quarter into their advertisements.⁴⁹¹ For example, a lady advertised in 1838 charges of three shillings and sixpence per lesson or three guineas per quarter.⁴⁹² If one assumes one lesson per week then the quarterly charge would work out at over six shillings per lesson, considerably more than her charge for a single lesson. If one assumes two lessons a week the cost of lessons paid for quarterly falls below her single lesson charge, which is much more plausible. Much later in the century when the singer Greta Williams went to Catharina Pratten for guitar tuition lessons were clearly also twice weekly.⁴⁹³

Some lessons were organised in a more ad hoc way according to when pupils were resident in London. This is illustrated by the way Lady Layard had lessons in the late

⁴⁸⁷ *Boarding School and London Masters' Directory*, p.108.

⁴⁸⁸ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 8 December 1840. A crown was five shillings, half a crown was two shillings and sixpence.

⁴⁸⁹ For some information on middle-class incomes see above Chapter 2, Section 2.4.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 22 June 1843.

⁴⁹¹ A quarter was a quarter of a calendar year and thus consisted of three months or roughly twelve weeks. For the calculations here it has been assumed that there may have been a couple of weeks holiday in each quarter and therefore there would be ten teaching weeks in each.

⁴⁹² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 2 May 1838.

⁴⁹³ Greta Williams, 'How I came to Play the Guitar', *Guitar News*, 34 (December, 1956), 13-14.

1880s and early 1890s. By the 1880s her husband, Sir Austin Henry Layard, had retired and they lived most of the time in their Renaissance house, 'Ca' Capello', in Venice.⁴⁹⁴ However, they spent a few weeks each year in their London residence in Queen Anne Street. Lady Layard's journal gives details of how she had several guitar lessons in short spaces of time in London. In 1887 she was in London from early February until mid-April and had five lessons with Sacchi between 11 March and 1 April. The following year she changed teacher and had eight lessons from Catharina Pratten between 10 May and 2 June. No lessons were mentioned in the journal in 1889, but in 1890 and 1891 she had a few more lessons with Pratten.⁴⁹⁵

Guitarists, like other musicians, were adept at manipulating the market in which they operated. They did this in several ways. One of these was to project an image of a desirable and fashionable instrument. Thus Anelli, who established himself as a successful teacher of singing as well as the guitar in the 1820s and 1830s,⁴⁹⁶ referred to the 'most graceful and elegant' guitar.⁴⁹⁷ An anonymous lady advertiser referred to this 'graceful instrument with all its most pleasing effects'.⁴⁹⁸ Catharina Pratten also emphasised elegance⁴⁹⁹ whilst Lea offered to sell guitars that were 'elegant in appearance'.⁵⁰⁰ Bertoli, about whom little is known, in 1833 expressed how fashionable it was.⁵⁰¹

More importantly, playing the guitar was presented as an aristocratic and upper-class pursuit. Catharina Pratten in particular took this high-class view of the instrument very

⁴⁹⁴ Jonathan Parry, 'Layard, Sir Austin Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16218>> [accessed 1 January 2018].

⁴⁹⁵ Lady Layard's Journal. Lessons in 1890 took place between 15 April and 21 August. Lessons in 1891 took place between 30 May and 25 June.

⁴⁹⁶ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 241.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 17 March 1855.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 7 May 1851.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 7 May 1872.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 25 March 1840.

⁵⁰¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 13 May 1833.

seriously. Her biographer noted that she would often discourage people from taking up the guitar if she felt that their 'environment would not accord with its refinement'.⁵⁰² Her snobbery is well illustrated by comparing two accounts of how she met people for the first time. In 1894 she welcomed to her salon two people who then published an article about her. They described how Madame had met them at the entrance and given them a courteous and enthusiastic welcome followed by refreshments 'of the generously lavish order'.⁵⁰³ In contrast, she met the young guitarist Ernest Shand for the first time in 1892. He talked about this meeting four years later and commented that the 'dignified old lady received him somewhat brusquely as was her wont with strangers'.⁵⁰⁴ Her visitors in the first of these encounters were Mr Hearden Browning and H.I.H. Princess Eugénie Di Cristoforo. This lady's title came from her claim to be a descendant of the Byzantine emperors and was recognised as such by the Greek King George I when she was welcomed with royal honours in Greece in 1898.⁵⁰⁵ Pratten would have been delighted to welcome royalty to her home. In contrast Shand came from a very different social background. He had begun an acting career at the time he met Pratten having moved to London from Hull where his father ran a photographic business.⁵⁰⁶ Pratten did, however, overcome her initial reservations as she recognised his talent and helped him.⁵⁰⁷

Teachers were anxious to announce any connections they had with important people and much printed music carried dedications to them. Those that taught royalty in particular were keen to draw everyone's attention to the fact. Ventura taught Princess

⁵⁰² Harrison, *Reminiscences*, p. 72. Gillett has noted that Catharina's success was in part due to her 'high social sponsorship' and 'aristocratic connections'. See Gillett, 'Entrepreneurial Women', p. 211.

⁵⁰³ Princess Eugénie and W. Browning Hearden, 'Our Visits', *The Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, April 1894, p. 534.

⁵⁰⁴ 'A Clever Guitarist', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 1 May 1896, p. 1462.

⁵⁰⁵ J. V. Harcourt, 'Princess Paleologue', available at: <<http://www.theauxiliaries.com/men-alphabetical/men-h/harcourt-jv/princess-paleologue/paleologue.html>> [accessed 4 December 2017].

⁵⁰⁶ Button, *Guitar*, p. 157.

⁵⁰⁷ Button, *Guitar*, pp. 157-59.

Charlotte of Wales⁵⁰⁸ and Sacchi taught the Princesses Alice and Victoria, daughters of Queen Victoria.⁵⁰⁹ Pratten not only kept a portrait of her pupil Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, in her drawing-room but also noted in her advertisements that she taught the Princess and dedicated the *Princess Louise duet* for guitar and piano to her.⁵¹⁰

Many of the teachers encouraged prospective students by promising that a pupil would be able to play sufficiently to accompany songs after a particular number of lessons. Napoleon Gould was ambitious saying that pupils would be able to accompany songs after six lessons.⁵¹¹ Other less well-known teachers included Mrs Gracia and Mr Greer who agreed that twenty-four lessons were sufficient to learn accompaniments, whereas Madame Norton specified that she would teach six songs with accompaniments in twelve lessons.⁵¹² Mr Stiegler promised that if a pupil had not acquired the skill of 'universal accompaniment' in three to six lessons no payment at all would be accepted.⁵¹³ This may have been a tempting proposition although what constituted 'universal accompaniment' may have been difficult to define.

More often teachers offered the equipment needed. Some offered instruments and strings as did Agnes Williamson.⁵¹⁴ Follini went further offering strings and instruments of his own make.⁵¹⁵ Pratten was known to approve instruments from Boosey and Company with her signature on the labels. Her connection with the company came through her husband Robert Sidney Pratten who, as one of the leading flautists of the time, promoted

⁵⁰⁸ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 22 October 1814.

⁵⁰⁹ Sparks, *Classical Mandolin*, p. 45.

⁵¹⁰ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 21 March 1878. The duet that Catharina dedicated to the Princess was: *The Princess Louise Duet* (London: The Author, n.d.).

⁵¹¹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 12 April 1842.

⁵¹² 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 5 May 1857; 'Advertisements', *The Age*, 4 November 1832; 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 10 October 1895.

⁵¹³ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 23 October 1837.

⁵¹⁴ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 December 1892.

⁵¹⁵ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 15 April 1886. No extant guitars made by him are known of, if he did make any it is likely that there were only a few. It is possible that he bought or imported instruments from elsewhere and put his own label inside.

an improved flute named Pratten's Perfected Flute. It was initially made by John Hudson⁵¹⁶ who, in 1856, became employed by Boosey and Co. as foreman and must have taken the Pratten flute with him.⁵¹⁷ It has been estimated that Catharina Pratten endorsed something approaching one hundred of Boosey and Sons' guitars between 1859 and 1865.⁵¹⁸ The Company advertised that each would be accompanied by a certificate signed by Madame Pratten.⁵¹⁹ Other guitars exist that have handwritten labels signed by her demonstrating her approval. Extant examples of these date from approximately 1860 until 1890.⁵²⁰

Performing was another tool that was used to attract and keep pupils. Eulenstein described in his autobiography how he needed to build up guitar work after he stopped playing his first instrument, the Jew's harp, because of damage to his teeth. He performed for a while gratis at parties in order to attract pupils.⁵²¹ This would probably have been in the 1820s. Much later in the century, Lady Layard described in her journal for 31 July 1890 how she had a lesson from Madame Pratten in the afternoon and then in the evening four friends and Madame Pratten dined with her and the latter 'played the guitar to us all the evening most delightfully'.⁵²² For Pratten it was important to keep her pupils happy, particularly those that were aristocratic.

4.3. Conclusion

The survey of teachers presented here demonstrates that guitar teaching was maintained throughout the Victorian years and was more widespread than has hitherto been recognised. The results confirm that there was much enthusiasm in the 1830s and 1840s

⁵¹⁶ 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 4 September 1854.

⁵¹⁷ Rockstro, *Flute*, p. 387.

⁵¹⁸ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making' p. 265.

⁵¹⁹ 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 21 March 1857, p. 191.

⁵²⁰ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', pp. 280-81.

⁵²¹ Eulenstein, 'Eulenstein's Musical Career', p. 201.

⁵²² Lady Layard's Journal, entry for 31 July 1890.

followed by some drop of interest in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s and a renaissance in the 1880s and 1890s.⁵²³ Nearly all this activity would have been among amateurs playing their instruments in private until they took their music into public places in bands in the last two decades. These players would not have been visible to the author of the 'Guitar' article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* who was concerned with professional 'high art' performers⁵²⁴ which partly explains why the writer relegated the instrument to near oblivion.

Most of those who taught the guitar included this work in varied careers; for many this included giving tuition on other instruments and in other subjects. Diversification was a sound business strategy by which most survived in a harsh and competitive environment. Some teachers encountered financial problems and of those that did many managed to overcome their difficulties and resume their careers.

This investigation into the identities and careers of teachers has made it possible to draw some conclusions about the class and gender of their amateur pupils. Both men and women taught the guitar and their pupils were of both sexes. However, evidence suggests that there were more female players, as witnessed by the tuition in girls' schools and the work of governesses.⁵²⁵ It is no coincidence that when guitar lessons were first introduced at the Regent Street Poly they were only available to women.

The fees charged for lessons indicate a clientele with some wealth, although the increasing number of diverse institutions towards the end of the period suggested a widening of the social base of pupils. Many teachers gave lessons in their own homes and some travelled to teach in their students' residencies, and in institutions. The opening of the railways enabled some to work regularly in other towns, such as Brighton. A picture has emerged of teachers who sought to convey an upper class and exclusive image of their instrument. In doing so they maintained their wealthier pupils and attracted those

⁵²³ Britton describes the years 1840 to 1880 as 'wilderness' years although noting that the instrument remained popular with amateurs. See Britton, 'Guitar', p. 344.

⁵²⁴ Anon, 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xi (1880), 267-68).

⁵²⁵ For the gendering of instruments see Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 46.

who emulated their supposed betters, as demonstrated, in particular, in the last decades of the century by the enthusiasm for the instrument at the Regent Street Poly.

Chapter Five

The Method Books

The increased quantity of printed music published in the nineteenth century included a wealth of material for guitar.⁵²⁶ This chapter is about the method books for the instrument in England and adds further evidence that amateurs were playing the guitar throughout the century. Further investigation asks what the books tell us about these amateurs. Two theses, by Cox and Ribouillault, have made use of guitar method books published before 1850 to draw conclusions about the technique of playing the instrument.⁵²⁷ The mid-century end date that they chose was appropriate for their work because, by then, as Cox explains, the 'primary ideas of technique were established'.⁵²⁸ The discussion here is different; it does not cover playing techniques but does include the whole of the nineteenth century in England and, importantly, considers who was using the books.

5.1. Methodology

The sources of the information are data from the eighty English books, listed in Appendix C, dated between 1800 and 1900 for the six string guitar.⁵²⁹ Different titles in addition to 'Method' were used, such as 'Instructions', 'Tutor', 'School' and 'Preceptor' although these various descriptions did not indicate any discernible differences in the content.⁵³⁰ Of these not all were seen; no copies of any edition of four could be located and a further two

⁵²⁶ Ehrlich estimates that annual production of music increased at least fifty times and possibly as much as a hundred times in the nineteenth century. Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 103.

⁵²⁷ Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique'. Ribouillault, 'Technique de la Guitare'.

⁵²⁸ Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique', p. 4.

⁵²⁹ Shortened references will be used in this chapter's footnotes for the method books that are included in Appendix C.

⁵³⁰ Cox notes in his work the various words used in titles, *Tutor*, *Instructor*, *School*, *Preceptor*, *Instructions*, *Principles*, *Lessons*, *Rudiments* and *Method*. The books with these titles all aimed to teach a reader how to play the guitar. See Cox, 'Classic Guitar Technique', pp. 2-3.

that were located could not be seen.⁵³¹ It is possible that some of those not found were never published.⁵³²

The decision about what to include in the survey rested with a definition of 'method book', something that was rarely mentioned in the nineteenth century nor by more recent writers.⁵³³ Given the wide variety of content and approach a concise definition would be difficult. The one contemporary author who did offer a statement approaching a definition was Fernando Sor; his *Méthode pour la guitare* of 1830 was quickly translated into English in 1832.⁵³⁴ He wrote that a method book should be a 'treatise on the established principles on which the rules are founded, which ought to guide the operations' adding the assumption that someone buying a method intends to learn.⁵³⁵ This can be simplified to suggest that a method gives the principles needed by a beginner student of the instrument. Sor's own *Method* pays detailed attention to right and left hand positions noting both correct and incorrect techniques of playing. Later in the century a definition was attempted in Stainer and Barrett's dictionary of 1898; here both 'Method' and 'School' were described as systems of teaching.⁵³⁶ More recently Cox has defined a method book,

⁵³¹ The two volumes that were not seen were by Carcassi and Mollino. Carcassi's *Method* is in a private collection in the United States. Librarians in Sweden were unable to locate their copy of Mollino's *Instructions*.

⁵³² One of those that is unlikely to have been published is Anon, *The Spanish Lyre*, 1825.

⁵³³ Neither Rainbow nor Golby give definitions of 'method'. Bernarr Rainbow, *Four Centuries of Music Teaching Manuals 1518-1932*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009). Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*.

⁵³⁴ Fernando Sor, *Méthode pour la guitare*, (Paris: the author, 1830; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1981). Sor, F., *Method for the Spanish Guitar*, trans. by A. Merrick (London: R. Cocks and Co., 1832; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971). This work has been described by Jeffery as a profound work. See Jeffery, *Sor*, p. 96. Sor was a well-rounded musician with experience of many genres. Publishing his *Méthode* towards the end of his career he made it detailed and reflective and as such it is both fascinating and unique.

⁵³⁵ Sor, *Method*, p. 46. A more recent version, translated and edited by Matanya Ophee, is only slightly different: 'Method. A treatise of logical principles on which the rules which should guide the operations are based'. Fernando Sor, *Method for the Guitar*, trans. and ed. by Matanya Ophee (Columbus: Orphée, 2010), p. 78. The French text is a little more compact: 'Méthode. Traité des principes raisonnés sur lesquels sont fondées les règles qui doivent guider les opérations.' Sor, *Méthode*, p. 82.

⁵³⁶ John Stainer and William Barrett, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*, new edn, ed. by John Stainer (London: Novello, 1898), pp. 294, 396.

for his purpose, as ‘any book which contains written instructions pertaining to playing techniques’.⁵³⁷ This straightforward definition is used here with the additional proviso that the books are intended for use by beginners.

Some books that have been included by other writers in lists of method books have been left out here. The first are books of studies. As Sor wrote, ‘Exercises are the practice of theories established by the method’ and studies are ‘exercises on exceptions, and on rules offering greater difficulties in their application’,⁵³⁸ thus they are not for absolute beginners. The two most important collections of studies not included here are those by F. Pelzer and the English publications of those by Giuliani.⁵³⁹ Giuliani did not publish a method as such although his *Studio* opus one, first published in Vienna in 1812, is sometimes viewed as one and is described as such in early French editions.⁵⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in his introduction to the first edition, Giuliani made it clear that it was for players ‘who already possess the first elements’, in other words it was intended to reinforce concepts and techniques that had already been learnt.⁵⁴¹ F. Pelzer saw his *Method* go through two editions before publishing his *Studies* in 1840. They were designed for ‘acquiring facility in performance’ with no written technical guidance.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁷ Cox ‘Classic Guitar Technique’, p. 1.

⁵³⁸ Sor, *Method*, p.46.

⁵³⁹ Ferdinand Pelzer, *One Hundred & Fifty Exercises for Acquiring a Facility of Performance upon the Spanish Guitar, Composed & Extracted from the Works of the Best Writers for that Instrument* (London: the Author, 1840).

Mauro Giuliani, *One Hundred & Twenty Exercises for the Guitar, for the Acquirement of Flexibility in the Fingers of the Right Hand* (London: H. Lea, 1830).

Mauro Giuliani, *Sixteen Exercises for the Guitar for the Acquirement of Flexibility in the Fingers of the Left Hand* (London: H. Lea, 1830).

⁵⁴⁰ Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. xv. Stenstadvold includes the Giuliani *Studio* in his bibliography. However, Riboni omits them from a list of methods suggesting that they are a collection of studies and technical exercises and not a real method. “L’assenza di Giuliani da questo breve elenco è dovuta al fatto che il suo *Studio per la Chitarra* non è in realtà un vero e proprio metodo, pensi una raccolta di studi ed esercizi tecnici”. Marco Riboni, ‘Fernando Sor e il Méthode pour le Guitare’, in *Studios sobre Fernando Sor* ed. by Luis Gásser (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2002), pp. 387-401 (p. 388).

⁵⁴¹ ‘per quelli che, possedendo di già i primi elementi’, in Mauro Giuliani, ‘Prefazione’, *Studio per la Chitarra* (Vienna: Artaria, [1812]).

⁵⁴² Pelzer, *One Hundred and Fifty Exercises*.

Another book that is not included is F. Pelzer's *Instructions for the Guitar tuned in E Major*. The author made it clear that tuning the guitar in this way lends itself to several special effects but was not for beginners and that no one should attempt to use it until they were 'thoroughly acquainted with the Instrument tuned in the proper way'.⁵⁴³ The book is little more than an addition, or appendix, to his *Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* although he chose to publish it separately, unlike Bruni who devoted a four page section to this tuning at the end of his *Treatise*.⁵⁴⁴

Further books that have been omitted are the few that have titles which suggest they are method books when in reality they are not. For example, Thompson's *Instructions to my Daughter for Playing on the Enharmonic Guitar* is a detailed description of how to construct such an instrument accompanied by mathematical calculations. Another example is that of Bertini's *New System for Learning and Acquiring Extraordinary Facility on all Musical Instruments*. This is a sight-reading manual with no instructional material.⁵⁴⁵

The books listed in the appendix were found from various sources. The work of Stenstadvold has been very useful for finding publications prior to 1860 although it has needed supplementing with books that have only recently come to light.⁵⁴⁶ Much has been done by searching the online catalogues of the British and Bodleian libraries which were investigated for 'Guitar Method', 'Guitar Instructions', 'Guitar Tutor', and 'Guitar Preceptor'. These yielded many results to which were added items found in the Appleby collection of guitar music in the library of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama. This collection was particularly useful for late nineteenth-century books; several of the copies

⁵⁴³ Pelzer, *Instructions for the Guitar tuned in E Major*, p. 4. For this tuning the open strings were tuned to a chord of E major. Thus the standard tuning of: E-A-d-g-b-e' was changed to: E-B-e-g#-b-e'.

⁵⁴⁴ Bruni, *Treatise*, pp. 66-69.

⁵⁴⁵ Thomas Perronet Thompson, *Instructions to my Daughter for Playing on the Enharmonic Guitar* (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, 1829). Auguste Bertini, *New System for Learning and Acquiring Extraordinary Facility on all Musical Instruments* (London: Longman, 1830).

⁵⁴⁶ Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*.

are the only known ones.⁵⁴⁷ A few references to other books were found in searches of digitised newspapers.

5.2. The Quantity of Books

A comparison with a list of method books for another instrument could reveal how popular the guitar was. Unfortunately no list has been found for any one instrument for the same time period although two lists have been seen that have some limited use. Glyn Jenkins names eighty-four keyboard tutors published in England between 1801 and 1850 which outnumbers the forty-six for guitar in the same period; unfortunately only half of the century is covered.⁵⁴⁸ Another list is given by Golby in his book on instrumental teaching in nineteenth-century Britain which includes a 'Chronology of Principal British Instrumental Treatises 1780-1900'.⁵⁴⁹ For inclusion he states that the books must fulfil at least one of his criteria: they should be 'by a significant author; reissued in a number of editions; be a translation or assimilation of foreign text(s); be influential, or unusual, or innovative; and they should be listed in contemporary and/or recent secondary literature'.⁵⁵⁰ Twenty guitar books are included that were published in the nineteenth century and they offer a curious selection. The English translations of the works of Sor and Aguado from the 1830s are absent; it would be fair to say that these two were among the most influential guitarists of all time and as such should have qualified for inclusion. Instead an altered version of Sor's *Method* from the 1890s is included, as is an insignificant volume by John Green which does not fit any of Golby's criteria.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ Wilfrid Appleby (1892-1987) was a significant figure in the world of the Classical Guitar in the twentieth century. Among other things he edited a bi-monthly journal, *Guitar News*, from 1951 until 1973. His extensive collection of guitar music and publications was placed in the library of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in the 1970s.

⁵⁴⁸ G. Jenkins, 'The legato touch and the "ordinary" manner of keyboard playing from 1750-1850: some aspects of the early development of piano technique' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976).

⁵⁴⁹ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, pp. 277-304.

⁵⁵⁰ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. xiv.

⁵⁵¹ Sor/Harrison, *Method*. Green, *Hints*.

An alternative way to compare the numbers of books for different instruments has been to look at library catalogues. An exploration of the British Library catalogue is revealing. A search for 'Guitar AND tutor'; 'Guitar AND instructions', 'Guitar AND method', and 'Guitar AND school' gave fifty-three results. A similar search was done for two other instruments that were also regarded as suitable for women: for piano there were 162 results and twenty-six for the harp. This search was not precise because a few of these were not instructional books and a few that were not published in England were included. However, this does suggest that whilst the guitar was less popular than the piano it had greater use than the harp.

The publications of guitar method books all through the century confirm that the guitar was being played throughout this time. However, these books show much diversity of styles that were changing over time.⁵⁵² To analyse them further they have been divided into two broad categories which would reflect the level to which a student might have wanted to take their playing: the detailed and the adequate. This division is used because some differences were found in the two markets for which they catered. Most of the books fall into the second category and because of the large number this group is divided into two sections; those first published between 1800 and 1850 and those first published between 1851 and 1900.

⁵⁵² Rainbow noted how his collection of treatises was a 'survey of constantly changing aims and methods'. Rainbow, *Four Centuries*, p. ix. Stenstadvold has also noted how greatly the books varied in size and scope. Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. xv.

5.3.1. The Detailed Books: Introduction and Prices

Books were considered detailed if the level of instruction they offered would guide the beginner student to a high level of technical fluency. The material included covers some or all aspects of learning such as hand positions, rudiments of music, exercises, scales, and repertoire. The prices, dedications, and iconography will be considered followed by analyses of their text and music.

The Detailed Method Books with earliest possible dates of first editions.

Duvernay, *Instruction Book*. 1828.
F. Pelzer, *Instructions*. 1830.
Bruni, *Treatise*. [1830-1834].
Sor, *Method*. 1832.
Pratten, *Guitar Tutor/School*. 1857.
Nava, *Tutor for French Guitar*. 1882.
Ellis, *Thorough School*. [1893-1894].
Harrison, *The Guitar*. [1896-1907].
Shand, *Barnes & Mullins's Improved Method*. 1896.
Cramer, *Dallas' Guitar School*. 1900.

The prices of the books are shown in Table 5:1. Two prices are not known with absolute certainty; the figure on the copy seen of Harrison's book was obscured by a sticker saying six shillings and in the absence of any other information this is the figure that has been used. The second uncertainty concerned Sor's *Method* of 1832. The copy seen had a very high price of one guinea printed on the title page which was crossed out with twelve shillings written in by hand. This latter figure was confirmed as the selling price in two catalogues of R. Cocks & Co. which both listed twelve shillings for the book.⁵⁵³ In the table here the twelve shilling price is used. Where dates are uncertain the earliest possible date for the first edition has been taken.

⁵⁵³ See cover of Aguado, *Simple Method*. *A Select Descriptive Catalogue of Standard and Modern Musical Publications Published only by Messrs. R. Cocks & Co.* (London: R. Cocks & Co., [1851]).

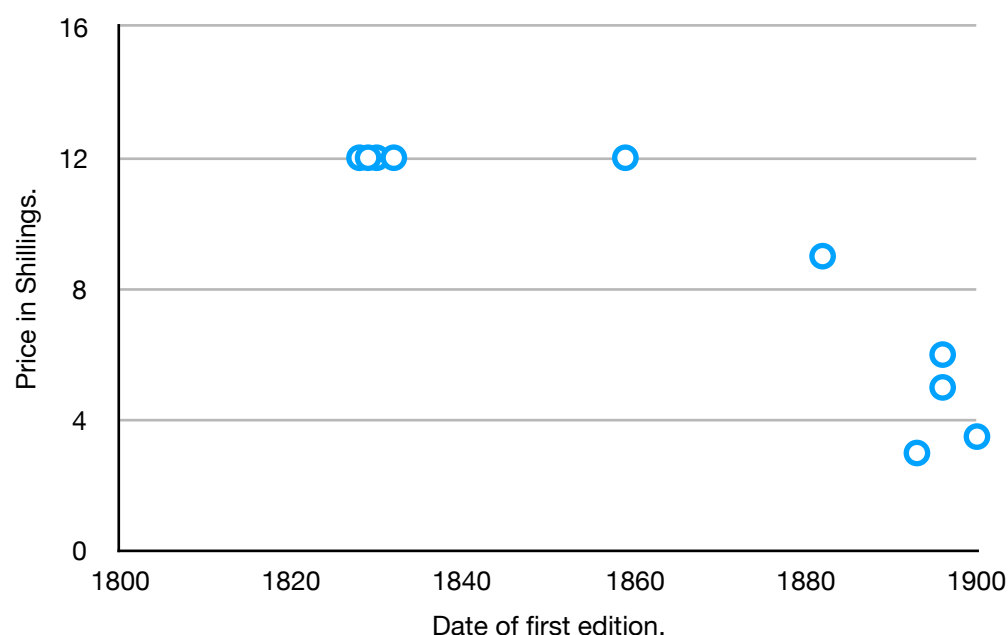


Table 5:1. Prices of Detailed Method Books with earliest possible dates of first editions.

Table 5:1 illustrates an astonishing fall in the prices of the books towards the end of the era. The prices were uniformly twelve shillings prior to 1870; the average fell to just over five shillings after this date which was an even greater reduction than the fall of some forty per cent of prices in general as noted by Hobsbawm for the period from the mid 1870s until the mid 1890s.⁵⁵⁴ This finding confirms Ehrlich’s description of the reduction in the cost of music during the century and most notably after 1870.⁵⁵⁵ Some publishers adopted new technology that facilitated the production at lower prices for the emerging mass market. Novello used stereotyping and D’Almaine & Co. used transfer lithography.⁵⁵⁶ These developments were accompanied by the repeal of various ‘taxes on knowledge’ by 1861.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ Erik Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (London: Abacus, 1987), p. 37.

⁵⁵⁵ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 103.

⁵⁵⁶ David Rowland, ‘Music Publishing in Britain’, in *Music and the Second Industrial Revolution*, ed. by Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 224-242, (pp. 225, 240-41).

⁵⁵⁷ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 103.

The cover prices of the books are only part of the picture, however, as music dealers regularly supplied music at half-price in the later nineteenth-century.⁵⁵⁸ This practice would account for the way Catharina Pratten insisted on the covers of many of her own publications that 'Owing to the limited sale of Guitar Music Mme Pratten is obliged to charge FULL PRICE for her own Publications.'⁵⁵⁹ It has not been possible to establish whether these discounts were regularly given in the earlier part of the century. A further indication of the falling prices is given by the cost of various editions of the Pratten *School*. In 1859 a price of twelve shillings was advertised. By the 1890s the book had been divided into two volumes that were named her *Popular Instruction Book*, Parts One and Two, with each having a price of two shillings and sixpence, thus giving a total reduction of more than fifty per cent. The later editions had minimal changes so there was very little cost in terms of the author's time in preparing them.

5.3.2. The Detailed Books: Dedications, Iconography, and Photographs

The most obvious indications of the gender and class of the amateur players who used the books are given by the dedications and illustrations. However, only one book in this section has a dedication; F. Pelzer's *Instructions* is dedicated to Captain George Phillips and John Hodgson Esq. It is unclear who Hodgson was, but Phillips was a friend of Pelzer and was probably an amateur guitarist.⁵⁶⁰

The illustrations of guitarists are more plentiful and are given in six books; they would have made the volumes attractive to purchasers. Three give images of men, two of women and one starts with a picture of a man playing an instrument, with a female

⁵⁵⁸ Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers*, p. xi. For an indication of how widespread price reductions were see 'Advertisements', *Illustrated London News*, 29 December 1866, pp. 642, 644. Half price music is offered in four different advertisements.

⁵⁵⁹ For an example see Catharina Pratten, *Madame R. Sidney Pratten's Instructions for the Guitar Tuned in E Major*, 10th edn (London: The Author, n.d.).

⁵⁶⁰ In 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer' it is stated that Phillips found the Pelzer family a place to live when they first arrived in London. This account has not been confirmed from any other source. For two pieces that Horetzky dedicated to Phillips; Felix Horetzky, *Twelve Divertimentos for the Guitar op.23* (London: Boosey & Co., n.d.); Felix Horetzky, *Quatre Variations avec l'Introduction et Finale op.22* (London: Aldridge, n.d.).

onlooker, which, in later reprints is changed to a picture of a girl.⁵⁶¹ This array may suggest that men were expected to use the books at least as often as women.



Left: Figure 5:1. Illustration from Bruni, *Treatise*.⁵⁶²
 Right: Figure 5:2. Ball Dress from *Ladies' Cabinet*, 1833.⁵⁶³

The images that were of women sought to promote an upper class image of the instrument. Bruni's female guitarist is seated in a playing position with a footstool (Figure 5:1). She is illustrated wearing fashionable French attire of the time, her dress is very similar to that of a 'Ball Dress' illustrated in the *Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music & Romance* with its low-cut neckline, large upper sleeves, and accompanying hairstyle of

⁵⁶¹ The books that only include pictures of men were by Duvernay, Sor and Ellis. Those only with women were by Bruni and Pratten. F. Pelzer changed the image that he used.

⁵⁶² Bruni *Treatise*, between pp. 38-39.

⁵⁶³ 'London Fashions for the Month', *Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music and Romance*, February 1833, in between pp. 134-35. This was a monthly magazine with plates copied from French ones, see 'The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music and Romance, Periodical' *National Portrait Gallery: Search the Collection* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp160734/the-ladies-cabinet-of-fashion-music-and-romance>> [accessed 11 May 2019].

cork-screw ringlets at the sides and knot at the back of the head; this picture would have been a copy of a French plate (Figure 5:2). The image would have appealed not only to the upper classes but also to those who looked up to them.⁵⁶⁴

F. Pelzer, on the title page of his *Instructions*, kept an upper class image with both his illustrations. Initially he used the image shown in Figure 5:3 which included a well-dressed woman and was not dissimilar from the illustration used by Bruni.



Figure 5:3. Image from the first edition of F. Pelzer, *Instructions*, Title page.

In this he sought to convey a romantic image of a fretted string instrument. He emphasised when he wrote in the magazine devoted to the guitar, *The Giulianiad* of 1833: 'The Guitar is the instrument of romance and sentiment [...] [it] is brought forth to aid and

⁵⁶⁴ Temperley describes how social emulation of the upper classes was a catalyst for much Victorian middle class achievement. See Temperley, 'Xenophilia', p. 14. This same ethos of respectability and emulation of one's betters was significant for the Regent Street Polytechnic. See Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4.

heighten the charm of romantic truth or fiction.⁵⁶⁵ To do this he used a picture of a minstrel, or troubadour (on the right in Figure 5:3) who sits in an artist's studio with his instrument and is dressed in minstrel attire with stockinged legs, wide brimmed hat, and cloak draped round him. It was a similar costume to that of Señor Juan de Vega, alias Charles Cochrane, who toured Britain dressed as a Spanish Minstrel with a cloak, breeches, and wide brimmed hat in the late 1820s (Figure 5:4).⁵⁶⁶ Like romantic writers, such as Thomas Moore, F. Pelzer harked back to an ill-defined earlier time of the Middle Ages with a sentiment that would appeal to both men and women. It was commonly believed at the time that men's interest in the guitar resulted from officers returning, like medieval knights, from the Peninsular war in 1815 with instruments.⁵⁶⁷ A writer in *The Giulianiad* expressed this well suggesting that soldiers played their guitars in camp while preparing for battle.⁵⁶⁸ For women, minstrels and their romantic image were often referred to in women's periodicals such as the *Ladies' Cabinet*.⁵⁶⁹ Respectability is carefully maintained with the well dressed lady in a dress not dissimilar from that in Bruni's picture (see Figure 5:1).

⁵⁶⁵ [Ferdinand Pelzer], 'Introduction', *The Giulianiad*, January 1833, p. 1. Although not named in the journal it is now widely believed that Pelzer was the editor, or co-editor.

⁵⁶⁶ [Charles Cochrane], *Journal of a tour made by Señor de Vega, the Spanish Minstrel, of 1828-9*, 2 vols (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1830), I, pp. 12-14. The term 'minstrel' here harks back to a medieval troubadour and must not be confused with the 'black-faced minstrels' that became popular a little later in the nineteenth century and who originated from America.

⁵⁶⁷ Page notes that soldiers returning from the Peninsula war were likened to medieval knights, and that the concept of the Middle Ages was vague. See Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 202-203.

⁵⁶⁸ 'The Westminster Review and the Guitar', *The Giulianiad*, [February] 1833, p. 18.

⁵⁶⁹ For example, the *Ladies' Cabinet* in 1833 included two poems with minstrel themes, see 'The Minstrel's Song', *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, March 1833, p. 188; 'The Last Day of a Minstrel', *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance*, June 1833, p. 373.



Figure 5:4. J. Hayter, *Señor Juan de Vega*, [1830].⁵⁷⁰

With reprints of the second edition of the book F. Pelzer changed the image on the title page and kept an upper class image with his choice of artist. Although not explicitly stated it was clearly taken from a drawing of his nine year old daughter, Catharina, by the artist

⁵⁷⁰ J. Hayter, 'Señor Juan de Vega', in *Journal* by [Charles Cochrane], i, frontispiece.

Geo Brown and the engraver C E Wagstaff (Figure 5:5). Wagstaff worked with aristocracy and royalty and engraved an image of Queen Victoria soon after this picture was done.⁵⁷¹ However, F. Pelzer would also have been promoting his daughter.



Figure 5:5. Geo Brown, *Catharina Pelzer*, engraved by C. E. Wagstaff, [1833].

In the second half of the nineteenth century Pratten maintained an upper class perception of the instrument. Editions of her *Guitar Tutor/School* published prior to the mid 1880s included a lithograph frontispiece of the author by Charles Baugniet, dating from just before her marriage of 1854 (Figure 5:6). She is wearing an evening dress with a low neckline and just discernible is a flounce *à disposition* on the skirt, which was the fashion of those particular years.⁵⁷² *The Ladies' Companion* noted, in January 1853, that

⁵⁷¹ London, National Portrait Gallery, *Queen Victoria* by Charles Edward Wagstaff after Edmund Thomas Harris, 1838. NPG D10862.

⁵⁷² In 1853 evening dresses had three broad or five to seven narrow flounces. Flounces *à disposition* were woven with the dresses and had distinctive patterns. See C. Willett Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, [1937]), p. 179.

‘flounces will be much worn’ as illustrated in the blue dress to the left of Figure 5:7.⁵⁷³ The artist, Baugniet, was well known for his work with upper class subjects, including royalty,⁵⁷⁴ and this picture’s inclusion in the book would certainly suggest aristocratic connections. However, its presence marked a significant change from the illustrations in earlier books. The picture was of herself; the focus of attention had moved away from the excellence of the work, as suggested in earlier books, and now centred on the author, the composer.⁵⁷⁵



Left: Figure 5:6. Charles Baugniet, *Catharina Josepha Pelzer* (1853).⁵⁷⁶
 Right: Figure 5:7. ‘The Toilet, (Specially communicated from Paris) Costume for January’, *The Ladies’ Companion*, January 1853.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷³ ‘The Toilet, (Specially Communicated from Paris.) Costume for January’, *The Ladies’ Companion and Monthly Magazine*, January 1853, p. 54.

⁵⁷⁴ ‘Baugniet, Charles’, *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, *Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/benezit/B00013934>> [accessed 4 September 2016].

⁵⁷⁵ For a discussion of the focus on greatness in nineteenth-century culture see Jim Samson, ‘The Great Composer’ in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* ed. by Jim Samson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 259-84.

⁵⁷⁶ The image bound into the Bodleian Library copy of the second edition of her *Learning the Guitar Simplified* has the artist’s signature and gives the date 1853.

⁵⁷⁷ ‘The Toilet, (Specially communicated from Paris) Costume for January’, *The Ladies’ Companion and Monthly Magazine*, January 1853, opposite p. 54.

In the 1890s Herbert Ellis (1866-1903), who taught banjo, mandolin, and guitar, also used pictures of himself in his *Thorough School*. On the cover is a photograph taken by Arthur Weston and inside is a full page picture, also of himself (Figure 5:8).



Figure 5:8. Ellis, *Ellis' Thorough School*, Frontispiece, photograph of Ellis by Hana.

In both images Ellis looks impeccably dressed, and thus conveys respectability. Like others at this time he would no doubt have chosen his clothes for the portrait with care. The pictures are similar to those observed by Noonan in late nineteenth-century photographs in banjo, mandolin, and guitar magazines in the United States, which sought to promote the playing of these instruments as a wholesome past-time.⁵⁷⁸ Like Pratten, Ellis was promoting himself, although he did not match her connection to aristocracy. The photographer, Hana, was known for his photographs of music-hall artistes and not upper-class subjects.⁵⁷⁹

The illustrations show no overall bias towards either female or male players. The text in some of the books also indicated that the authors were not in agreement over the gender of pupils expected. F. Pelzer made it clear that the guitar was ‘the favoured companion of the accomplished of both sexes’.⁵⁸⁰ In some books, however, hints are given that female players are expected. Harrison refers to the ‘graceful player’ and Duvernay specifies the difficulties that a ‘small delicate hand’ in particular might encounter, and talks of the ‘Graceful and Elegant’ position of the player.⁵⁸¹ Pratten refers to a good position of holding the guitar for a lady but does not then mention anything for men.⁵⁸²

5.3.3. The Detailed Books: Adults and Children

Further information about players is given in less obvious ways. None of the authors suggest that their books may be used for self-instruction, but there are indications that the books are intended for pupils who already played another instrument. The guitar was seen as a ‘second’ instrument by many of the authors, thus, most of the books do not

⁵⁷⁸ Jeffrey Noonan, *The Guitar in America: Victorian Era to Jazz Age* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), p. 25.

⁵⁷⁹ The photographs from this period by Hana held by the National Portrait Gallery, London, are all of music-hall artistes, comedians, and actors.

⁵⁸⁰ F. Pelzer, *Instructions*, p. 4.

⁵⁸¹ Harrison, *The Guitar*, p. 66. Duvernay, *Instruction Book*, p. 4.

⁵⁸² Pratten, *Guitar Tutor/School*, p. 7.

include a section giving the ‘Rudiments of Music’, only those by Bruni, Cramer, Ellis, and F. Pelzer do so. Duvernay is quite clear on this point: ‘N.B. I suppose the Pupil already acquainted with the first Rudiments of Music’.⁵⁸³ Pratten writes that ‘As this work is intended to treat of all the peculiarities of the Guitar, I shall presume that the Student has become acquainted with the rudiments of music in order to devote space to matter relating more particularly to the instrument.’⁵⁸⁴ Sor went further and noted how students with previous knowledge could make much faster progress than those who had not already learnt another instrument. He mentioned how one of his pupils, Miss Mary Jane Burdett, who already played well on the pianoforte, learnt to play his *Fantasie* opus 40 after only twenty-eight lessons.⁵⁸⁵

The first instrument that amateurs would have played was the piano. It is probable that Eleanor Geary spoke for many when she made it clear in her book, *Musical Education*, that the beauty of the guitar was displayed when it accompanied the voice, while stressing that ‘although it may *accompany*, it should never be allowed to *supersede* the study of the Harp or Piano-Forte’.⁵⁸⁶ Thus it is assumed by seven of the guitar method book authors that players would have the wealth to own, or at least have access to, a piano in order to tune their guitars.⁵⁸⁷ In the first half of the century only a wealthy minority could have afforded these keyboard instruments; prices from ten to one hundred guineas were advertised in 1830 and would have been beyond the means of most.⁵⁸⁸ Ownership of pianos became more widespread later with the increase in real wages, and the use of hire purchase, known as the three year system, was widely available by the 1860s.⁵⁸⁹ In 1884

⁵⁸³ Duvernay, *Instruction Book*, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁴ Pratten, *Guitar Tutor/School*, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁵ Sor, *Method*, p. 42.

⁵⁸⁶ Geary, *Musical Education*, 2nd edn, pp. 76 - 77. The italics are those of the author.

⁵⁸⁷ The authors that advise using a piano to tune a guitar to were: Bruni, Cramer, Duvernay, Ellis, Harrison, F. Pelzer and Pratten.

⁵⁸⁸ ‘Advertisements’, *Morning Post*, 5 July 1830.

⁵⁸⁹ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano* (London: Dent, 1976), p. 100.

Brinsmead and Sons' prices started from thirty-five guineas whilst Chappell and Co. had their cheapest, a student model, for fifteen guineas available on the three year system.⁵⁹⁰ Ehrlich writes of the 'extraordinary piano mania of late Victorian society' and suggests that by 1900 one Englishman in three hundred and sixty bought a new piano every year. To this he adds the interesting notion that the older ones being replaced would have been sold or passed on at much lower prices. It was thus no longer just the comfortably well off who owned them.⁵⁹¹

Earlier guitar method book writers were keen to emphasise how the guitar could complement ownership of a piano and was suitable at venues where the larger and less portable instrument was impractical, almost in the same way as different clothes were appropriate for different occasions. In particular, mention of the guitar's portability is a recurring theme. Duvernay described how it could be used for garden and boating parties while F. Pelzer described how it could be played 'In the solitary hour, in the Closet, in the Camp' adding that it could even be played in situations when a louder instrument would be an 'annoyance to others'.⁵⁹²

When considering whether it was expected that young children would use this didactic material it is revealing to compare the differing approaches of F. Pelzer in two of his instruction books; his *Instructions* for the guitar and his later *Practical Guide to Modern Piano Forte Playing*.⁵⁹³ The second book was written from his experience of teaching his own children as absolute beginners; three of the four younger sisters of Pratten were evidently accomplished pianists who first learnt from their father. Jane's later teacher, the well-known pianist Ignaz Moscheles, dedicated a *Brilliant Fantasia for the Piano Forte on a Cavatina from Rossini's Zelmira* to her.⁵⁹⁴ Annie played the piano in concerts including

⁵⁹⁰ 'Advertisements', *The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper*, 21 June 1884.

⁵⁹¹ Ehrlich, *Piano*, p. 91. Russell notes that in the second half of the century 'piano ownership permeated some way down the social scale'. Russell, *Popular Music*, p. 139.

⁵⁹² Duvernay, *Instruction Book*, p. 4. F. Pelzer, *Instructions*, p. 4.

⁵⁹³ F. Pelzer, *Instructions*. F. Pelzer, *Practical Guide*.

⁵⁹⁴ Ignaz Moscheles, *A Brilliant Fantasia for the Piano forte on a Cavatina from Rossini's Zelmira, and a Ballad from Mozart's Seraglio* (London: n.pub., [1842]).

one in which she accompanied the violinist Ernst and the 'cellist Piatti in some Beethoven trios,⁵⁹⁵ and, although Giulia is best remembered today as a teacher of the guitar, she only started teaching this instrument after giving up piano teaching which she regarded as an overcrowded profession.⁵⁹⁶ F. Pelzer's *Practical Guide* is designed for absolute beginners, who would have included children, giving a series of easy lessons which start with five finger simple exercises.⁵⁹⁷ In contrast his *Instructions* for the guitar moves with breath-taking rapidity. After some exercises and four short pieces there is an 'Allegro' by Giuliani, opus fifty number thirteen. This piece is not elementary and is currently in a British exam syllabus for grade two Classical Guitar.⁵⁹⁸ Even though a brief section about the rudiments of music is included the general pace presupposes some musical knowledge on the part of the student; the other detailed books in this section progress with similar speed.

No nineteenth-century guitar method books specifically for young children have been found. It is possible that children were expected to learn in the same way and with the same material as adults. Or, there may simply have been few children learning the instrument because the piano was regarded as more suitable for them. This latter view is confirmed by the paucity of references to small guitars for children, only two of which have

⁵⁹⁵ See 'Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer', p. 11. No date is given although it would have been before her marriage of 1859 after which she gave up her musical career. This account has not been confirmed in any other source.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Gallery Celebrities: Madame Giulia Pelzer', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 12 November 1904, p. 9512. It is also known that all the sisters played other instruments as well with the exception of Jane who died young. See Chapter 1, Section 1.4. Pratten advertised both concertina and guitar lessons in the *Morning Post* from 18 October 1853 until 20 January 1859.

⁵⁹⁷ A number of piano method books written specifically for children were published in the nineteenth century, for an early example see Anne Rodwell, *The Juvenile Pianist* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1836; repr. with introduction by Bernarr Rainbow, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992). Later in 1886 Mrs Curwen's popular *Child Pianist* with its Teacher's Guide was published and subsequently ran to at least twenty-seven editions, see J. Spencer Curwen, *The Child Pianist: A Book of Theory and Practice for Beginners* (London: J Curwen & Sons, 1886).

⁵⁹⁸ The syllabus is of the London College of Music examinations for Classical Guitar 1 August 2008 - 31 December 2019.

been seen. Derwort advertised a 'smaller size for children' in 1827⁵⁹⁹ and in 1897 J. G. Winder, a musical instrument dealer in Kentish Town, included 'Small sized Guitars for Children' in his catalogue; the demand cannot have been high, however, as these guitars were only made to order.⁶⁰⁰ It is unclear what size children's instruments would have been as the standard instruments available, as described in chapter one, were suitable for children; they were similar in size to the modern three-quarter size ones that are today played by those aged from approximately seven to eleven years of age. However, at a time when musical instrument dealers were keen to promote their goods to as wide a clientele as possible the virtual absence of references to children in their advertisements would suggest that they did not have this market in mind.

Small nineteenth-century guitars that have survived are the so-called 'bambina' guitars usually associated with Catharina Pratten. One of these, described by Westbrook, is almost half the size of a guitar by Louis Panormo of 1838. Whilst some writers suggest that they were designed for children this theory has been rejected by Westbrook because they are too small, even for a young child. In addition, the width of the nut is only a little less than the standard instruments of the time which were suited to adult hands and he therefore suggests that they were intended for adults to use while travelling.⁶⁰¹

5.3.4. The Detailed Books: Repertoire

The repertoire in the detailed books was largely taken from three sources: the author's own compositions; the works of early nineteenth-century guitarists such as Carulli, Sor, and Giuliani; and drawing-room music. The last of these, the drawing-room music, was used in only four of the books. However, it can throw more light on the identity of the amateur players who used the books than either of the other sources and will therefore be considered in detail here.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 March 1827.

⁶⁰⁰ *Winder's Catalogue*.

⁶⁰¹ Westbrook, 'Guitar Making', pp. 269-70.

Drawing-room music was largely the domain of female amateurs,⁶⁰² many of whom would have learnt musical skills as one of their 'accomplishments'. As Loesser puts it, genteel women filled their time with these 'accomplishments' that were 'trivial occupations superficially related to the fine arts'.⁶⁰³ Using the language of European art music the music, which included both arrangements and original pieces, was intended to be both easy to play and easy to listen to, and was performed at occasions when music was secondary to the main purpose of a social event. Melodies were often used from operas and supposed Celtic airs as well as dances. The repertoire offered by Bruni was of this genre. He included a selection arranged for guitar solo and included waltzes, marches, and a polonaise. There are Celtic pieces with a Welsh air and an arrangement of the Irish melody 'Garry Owen'. The presence of a 'Scotch Air', ('Ye Banks & Braes'), is a reminder of how popular Scottish songs were in the nineteenth century just as they had been in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰⁴ Among his opera melodies chosen is 'O dolce concerto' from Mozart's *Il flauto magico* which had first been performed at the King's Theatre in Italian in 1811.⁶⁰⁵ This theatre was socially distinct from other theatres being the one most patronised by the aristocracy;⁶⁰⁶ operas were sung in Italian. The inclusion of this piece, albeit arranged as a guitar solo, could be construed to have an upper-class bias due to its connection with this theatre. In addition, Scott describes how aristocratic taste favoured

⁶⁰² For a description of Drawing-room music see Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', pp. 116-21. For a description of drawing-room songs see Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*.

⁶⁰³ Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, p. 267.

⁶⁰⁴ Page describes how popular songs in a 'Scottish musical idiom' were for the English guitar in the eighteenth century. See Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 46. Scott also notes how popular 'Scotch songs' were in the nineteenth century, partly because they gave many images of domestic 'peace and comfort'. See Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, pp. 93-94.

⁶⁰⁵ Alec Hyatt King, 'Vignettes in Early Nineteenth-century London Editions of London Operas', *British Library Journal* 6:1 (1980) 24-43 (p. 26).

⁶⁰⁶ Carr describes how the King's Theatre had, in the first thirty years of the century, a monopoly in performances of Italian operas producing several new ones each year. It was the 'theatrical haunt of the aristocracy'. See Bruce Carr, 'Theatre Music: 1800-1834', in *The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, ed. by Temperley, pp. 288-306 (p. 288).

the Italian language for singing.⁶⁰⁷ However, Page advises caution against making such a simple assumption noting that lessons in Italian were widely available in 'every educational context in late Georgian England'.⁶⁰⁸ Bruni also includes two opera melodies that had not originated in Italian works. 'Quand le bien aime riviendra' from the opera *Nina* by Dalayrac was first performed in English at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden in 1787,⁶⁰⁹ and 'Rule Britannia' was from Thomas Arne's English masque, *Alfred*. The repertoire, aimed to please well-off female amateurs, was in keeping with the illustration in his book of a fashionable young lady (see Figure 5:1).

Pratten, later in the 1850s, included advanced technical material and pieces from the early nineteenth-century guitarist's repertoire in the second half of her *Guitar School* but in the first half concentrated on a similar women's drawing-room repertoire as Bruni with a mixture of guitar solos and songs with guitar accompaniment.⁶¹⁰ There is a short waltz and a minuet, celtic influence comes with 'Charley is my Darling' and the 'Blue Bells of Scotland' from Scotland, and 'My Lodging is on Cold Ground' being supposedly Irish.⁶¹¹ The Celtic theme continues with three poems of Longfellow put to music by the Irish composer Balfe. Pratten included examples from three new sources of material that began to be included in drawing-room repertoire from the 1840s and 1850s: ballads by women composers, songs of the blackface minstrels, and sacred songs.⁶¹² Thus, there is a ballad by Caroline Hay, the American air 'Mary Blane' from the minstrel repertoire, and a

⁶⁰⁷ Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 16.

⁶⁰⁸ Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden', *The Times*, 12 April 1787.

⁶¹⁰ Pratten, *Tutor/School*, pp. 11-43.

⁶¹¹ Pratten lists it as Irish but Gammie suggests that this melody, which was used by Thomas Moore for his 'Believe me if all those Endearing Charms', is not. See Ian Gammie, *The Guitar Songs of Tom Moore*, 2 vols (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2003), II, p.3.

⁶¹² For a description of these three sources see Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 60.

guitar solo arrangement of the Christmas carol ‘Adeste Fideles’.⁶¹³ Italian opera music is much in evidence; there are pieces from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, Bellini’s *Norma*, Donizetti’s *Lucrezia Borgia*, and Verdi’s *Rigoletto*, *Il Traviatore*, and *La Traviata*. In addition, of the fourteen songs, six were in Italian. As with Bruni, both the drawing-room repertoire and the illustration (see Figure 5:6) leave little doubt that Pratten was looking to upper-class women to use her book.

Later in the century Ellis used many of his own compositions in his *Thorough School* and acknowledged the importance of the early nineteenth-century guitar composers with a number of pieces by Carulli. Nevertheless he saw a place for drawing-room repertoire; there are three ‘Schottische’ dances and an arrangement of the same opera aria from Donizetti’s opera *Lucrezia Borgia*, ‘Di Pescatore Ignobile’, that Pratten had included in her *School*. Like Bruni he has an arrangement of the ‘Carnival of Venice’ and completes the selection with arrangements of two of the most popular ballads of the nineteenth century; ‘Home Sweet Home’ by Henry Bishop and ‘The Last Rose of Summer’ from Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies*.⁶¹⁴

Other writers made few, if any, concessions to the drawing-room genre. Cramer used a small number while other authors depended on the repertoire of the early nineteenth-century European guitarists and their own compositions.

This survey of detailed guitar method books shows that interest in the guitar was maintained throughout the nineteenth century in England. In addition, it provides indications of the identities of the amateur players. Many would have been adults (or

⁶¹³ Some English minstrel troupes dressed in English court costumes of eighteenth-century style. The songs that these groups sang, such as ‘Mary Blane’, became readily accepted by the upper-class. See Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 21. ‘Adeste Fideles’, the work of the eighteenth-century scribe John Wade, dates from the 1740s when it was included in liturgical books. Bennett Zon, ‘O Come All Ye Faithful’, *Durham University News* (2008) <<http://www.dur.ac.uk/news/newsitem/?itemno=7328>> [accessed 6 June 2019].

⁶¹⁴ Ellis, *Ellis’ Thorough School*, pp. 17-29, 45-61, 64-70. *Home Sweet Home!* Has been described as a ‘favourite at the fireside and on the concert platform’ and Moore’s *Irish Melodies* as ‘the foundation stone of Victorian balladry’. See *The Parlour Song Book* ed. by Michael Turner and Anthony Miall, (London: Michael Joseph, 1972), pp. 143, 216.

older children), both men and women, who took up the guitar as a second instrument. The users of the books would have been well-off, even aristocratic, in the early part of the Victorian era. The importance of wealth receded later in the century as prices fell. Analysis of the less detailed, adequate books will offer more information about amateur players.

5.4.1. The Adequate Books 1800-1850: Introduction and Prices

This section comprises the largest number of books; in scope they cover similar material as the detailed books but in less depth. For example, the repertoire that many include does not extend to advanced pieces.

The Adequate Method Books 1800-1850 seen with earliest possible dates of first editions.

- Sperati, *Instructions*. 1802.
Anon, *Instructions*. 1805.
Bortolazzi, *Instructions*. [1807].
Chabran, *Instructions*. [1810].
Chabran, *Tutor*. 1813.
Rosquellas, *Tutor*. 1813.
Carulli/Anon, *Instructions*. 1816.
Carulli/Bertioli, *Method*. 1817.
Sola, *Instructions*. 1820.
Medina, *Instructions*. [1822-1830].
Prucilli, *Rudiments*. [1822-1829].
Douro, *Complete Preceptor*. 1823.
Molina, *Spanish Lyre*. 1823.
Derwort, *New Method*. 1825.
Marescot, *Instructions*. [1825-1837].
Anon/Huerta, *Instructions*. 1826.
Bornhardt, *Easy Introduction*. [1826-1832].
May, *Instructions*. 1826.
Verini, *First Rudiments, Bk 1*, 1826.
Sosson, *Instruction Book*. 1827.
Anon/L.L. *New Method*. 1828.
Carulli/Phipps, *Method*. 1828.
[Eulenstein], *New Method*. 1828.
Jauralde, *Complete Preceptor, both parts*. 1828.
Bennett, *Instructions*. 1829.
Green, *Hints, Class A*, 1829.
Anon, *Master & Scholar*. [1830].
Kirkman, *Method*. [1830-1835].
Martinez, *Metodo*. 1830.
Nüske, *Instructions*. 1832.
Corino, *Instructions*. [1835-1837].
Muscarelli, *Instructions*. [1835-1844].
Rudolphus, *Method*. 1836.
Aguado, *Simple Method*. 1837.
Aspa, *Instructor*. [1837-1845].
Eulenstein, *Practical Method*. [1837-1840].
Hamilton, *Tutor*. [1837-1840].
West, *Whole Art*. [1840-1849].
Luigi, *Instruction Book*. 1842.
Marescot, *Instructions*. 1842.
Rodwell, *Handbook*. 1845.
Sagrini, *Guide*. [1848-1850].
Phipps, *Guida*. [1849-1860].

Table 5:2 shows the prices of the books with probable dates of publication. There have been some difficulties in assigning dates to the books; accurate ones have only been found for sixteen where there has been a date on the copy itself, an entry at Stationers' Hall, or mention of its new publication in a newspaper or journal. Watermarks have been used to date eight.⁶¹⁵ For the remaining books, where less information has been found, the earliest possible date has been used as was done with the detailed books in Table 5:1. It is therefore possible that up to twenty-three of the dates are earlier than the true publication of the books to which they relate.

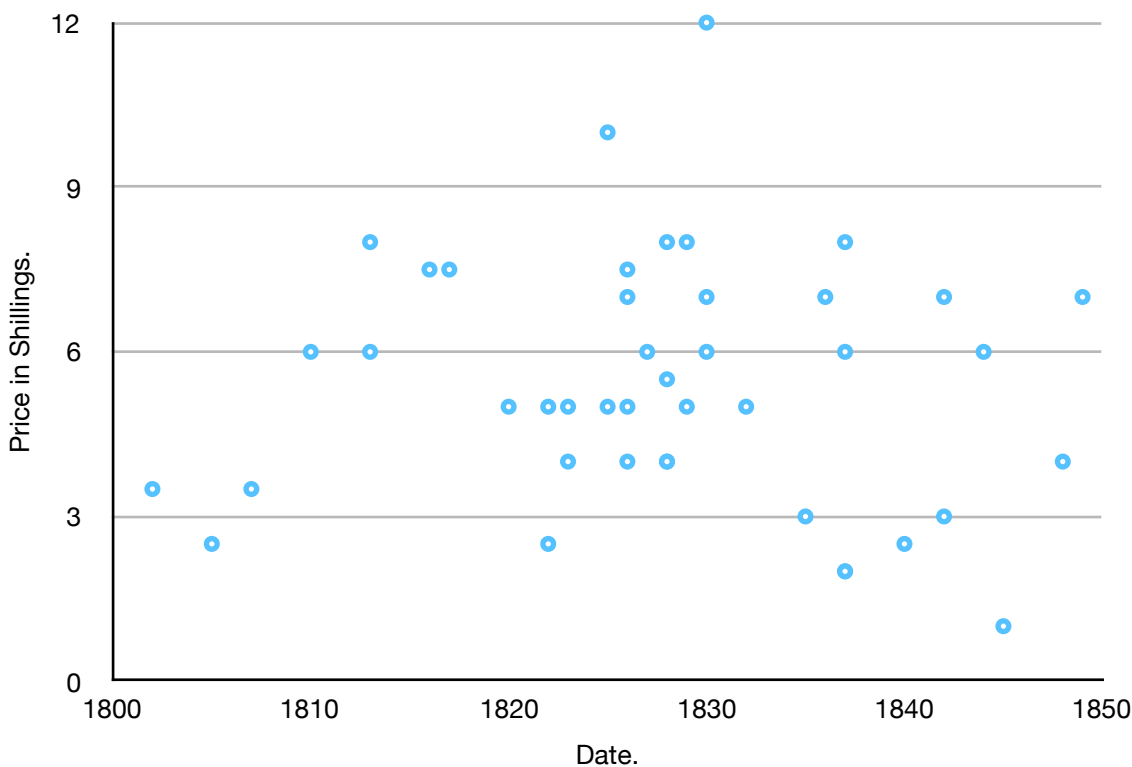


Table 5:2. Prices of the Adequate Method Books with dates of earliest editions seen 1800-1850.

The most expensive book at twelve shillings was by Mrs Kirkman, and the least expensive was by Rodwell. They included varying quantities of material. For example,

⁶¹⁵ In 1794 an act of Parliament made it worthwhile for publishers to mark their paper with a watermark date, the act was repealed in 1811 but the custom continued into the 1820s. The books would have been printed after the date on the paper but almost certainly by very little so that the dates of the marks given are regarded as being close enough. See O. W. Neighbour and Alan Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the first half of the Nineteenth-Century* (London: Faber, 1965), p. 14.

the Kirkman has repertoire of eleven pieces spread over fourteen pages in contrast to the repertoire in the small octavo sized Rodwell book which was limited to two songs with guitar accompaniments.⁶¹⁶ While these prices would have remained beyond the reach of many they are distinctly lower than those for the detailed books. The average price was just under six shillings whereas all the detailed books in the same period were uniformly twelve shillings each. However, as might be expected, the detailed books had more content; the average number of pages for them was just under sixty-six while the average number for the adequate books was just over twenty-six.⁶¹⁷ In addition, these numbers obscure how much less the latter contained because many of them were physically smaller; the detailed books were folio size whilst some of the adequate ones were octavo.

5.4.2. The Adequate Books 1800-1850: Dedications and Iconography

The dedications and iconography together give indications of both the gender and class of the amateur players who would have used them. Twelve books have dedications of which four are to men. G. Luigi and Verini named two well-known guitarists, Regondi and Sor. Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) was, like Pratten, a child prodigy on the guitar who subsequently became a concertina virtuoso.⁶¹⁸ Sola named the Duke of Sussex and Martinez named a fellow Spaniard, Don Sixto Perez. The majority of the dedicatees on the remainder are titled ladies who include Princess Charlotte, two Viscountesses and three Duchesses. Among the two dedicatees without title was Mrs Boehm who also moved in aristocratic circles; her husband built their house in St James's Square and their

⁶¹⁶ It is unclear what size the Kirkman *Method* is because only a pdf has been seen. It is likely to be folio size.

⁶¹⁷ The page counts used for this calculation from the Verini, *Rudiments*, were from his Book one, and for the Green, *Tutor*, from his Class A volume, because these were the books for beginners.

⁶¹⁸ Simon Wynberg, 'Historical Notes', in *Giulio Regondi Concert Works for Guitar*, ed. by Simon Wynberg (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 2001), pp. v-vii.

dinner guests in 1815, when news of the victory at Waterloo reached London, reportedly included the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh and the Prince Regent.⁶¹⁹

The illustrations that feature someone playing the guitar similarly favour women. Of the sixteen with illustrations in early editions fifteen are of women and only in four of these is there also a man. Of these four, three display equal importance to the man and woman, as, for example, does Bennett (Figure 5:9).



Figure 5:9. Bennett *Instructions*, Title page.

⁶¹⁹ Arthur Dasent, *History of St. James's Square* (London: Macmillan, 1895), p. 171.

Bortolazzi, on the other hand, gives the man a different role. He is placed on one side admiring the lady and her music. The guitar is not merely a musical instrument; here it has become a fashion accessory to enhance the woman's appearance and would no doubt have appealed to prospective female purchasers. The picture is given as decoration and does not add anything to the instructional content of the book (Figure 5:10).

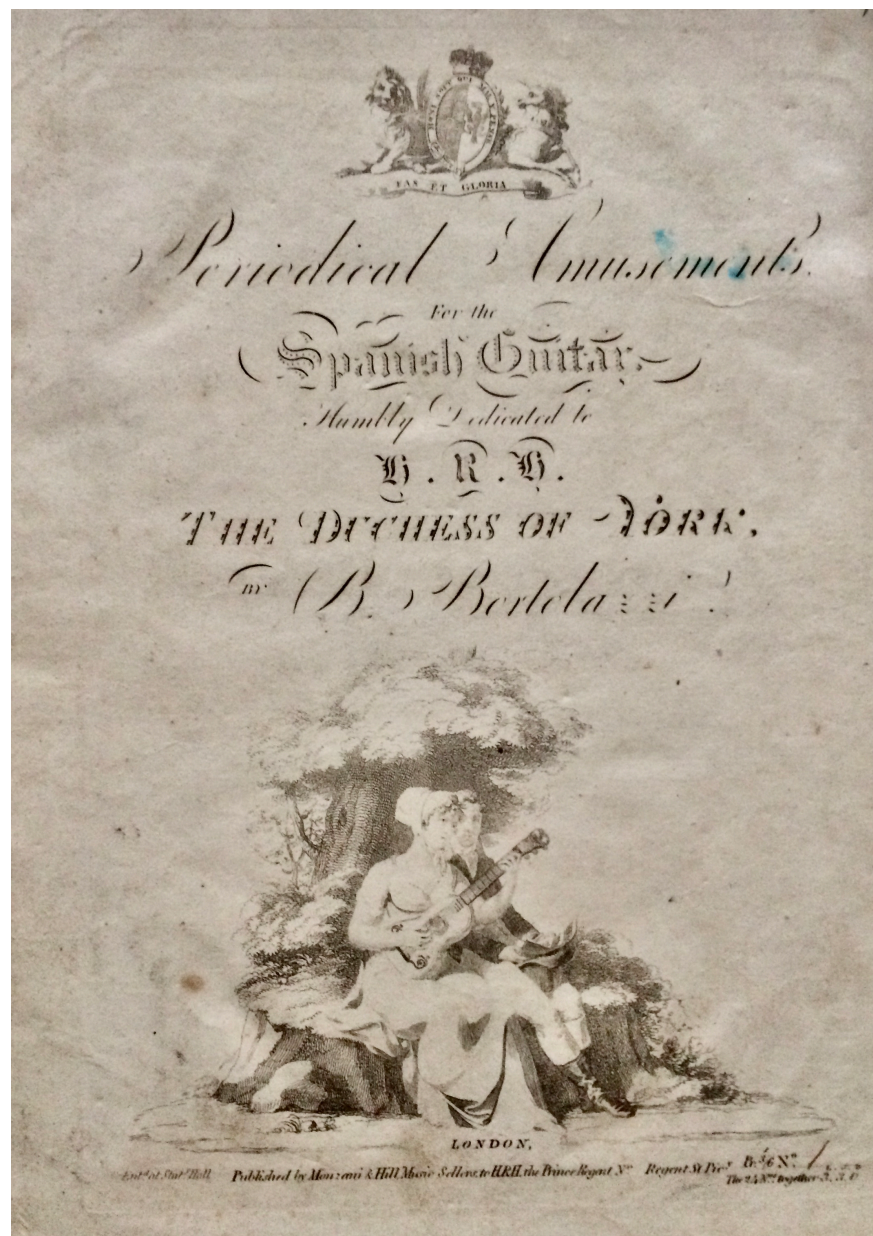


Figure 5:10. Bortolazzi, *Periodical Amusements*, Title page.

There are frequent references in the books to how elegant the instrument is and how it will complement a woman's appearance. An anonymous author wrote in the late 1820s that his book is 'dedicated to the fair sex [and] affords opportunities of displaying graces which heighten considerably the effects produced by their melodious singing'.⁶²⁰ Later, Phipps echoed this sentiment writing that 'the guitar, when held free and unconstrained has an extremely graceful appearance and gives a Romantic interest to the female form'.⁶²¹

The clothes worn by the women in the illustrations are those of wealthy people; this is best illustrated in the books by Verini and Sola. Sola's guitarist (Figure 5:11) is dressed in an evening dress with an ostrich feather in her hair; something that was fashionable in 1819, one year before the book was published.⁶²² The display of wealth was, however, most pronounced with the opulent *chaise longue* on which the player is seated. Verini placed his player on a similar piece of furniture and the connection of his work to the better off was further confirmed by his choice of artist, George Hayter, who was well known for his work with upper class subjects, including royalty (Figure 5:12).⁶²³

⁶²⁰ Anon/L.L., *New Method*, p. 1.

⁶²¹ Phipps, *Guida*, p. 2.

⁶²² Willett Cunningham, *Women's Clothing*, p. 69.

⁶²³ Barbara Coffey Bryant, 'Hayter, Sir George (1792-1871), Painter and Engraver', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2015), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12785>> [accessed 7 July 2020].

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Figure 5:11. Sola, *Instructions*, Title page.



Figure 5:12. Verini, *Rudiments*, Bk 1, Illustration by George Hayter, p. 2.

A further indication of the wealth of players is given by the references on a few of the books to the lyre, or lyre guitar. The fashion for the lyre had emerged with the interest in Greek and Roman antiquity by the French upper classes in the eighteenth century and spread to fashionable society in other parts of Europe. The lyre became a fashion

accessory and status symbol for women who wanted to imitate Greek kithara players; as fashions changed in the early nineteenth century interest in it waned.⁶²⁴ These instruments were not cheap; although they were little played by 1823 they were listed in a catalogue of Clementi, Collard and Collard at the high price of twelve guineas while on the same page the most expensive guitar, an 'elegant' model, was listed at eight guineas.⁶²⁵ The lyre often had six strings and it was one of the most active guitarists in Paris, Carulli, who contributed much to its repertoire;⁶²⁶ the early editions of his *Méthode* were for 'Guitare ou Lyre'.⁶²⁷ Some works that claimed to be his 'Method' in England also referred to the lyre. Bertoli's version is a method for the 'Spanish Guitar or Lyre' and the version published by Wheatstone was also for 'Spanish Guittar or French Lyre'. The latter had an illustration of a guitar on the title page and below it a girl next to a lyre (Figure 5:13).⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ Eleonora Vulpiani, *Lyre-Guitar Étoile Charmante, between the 18th and 19th centuries*, trans. by Ivo Magherini (Rome: The Author, 2007), pp. 8-13.

⁶²⁵ *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed by Clementi, Collard & Collard* (London: Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823), p. xxiv.

⁶²⁶ Vulpiani, *Lyre-Guitar*, p. 37.

⁶²⁷ Mario Torta, *Catalogo tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli*, 2 vols (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993), ii, 677.

⁶²⁸ The lyre in this instance is a simple 'lyre' and not a 'lyre guitar' because no fretted neck is visible.

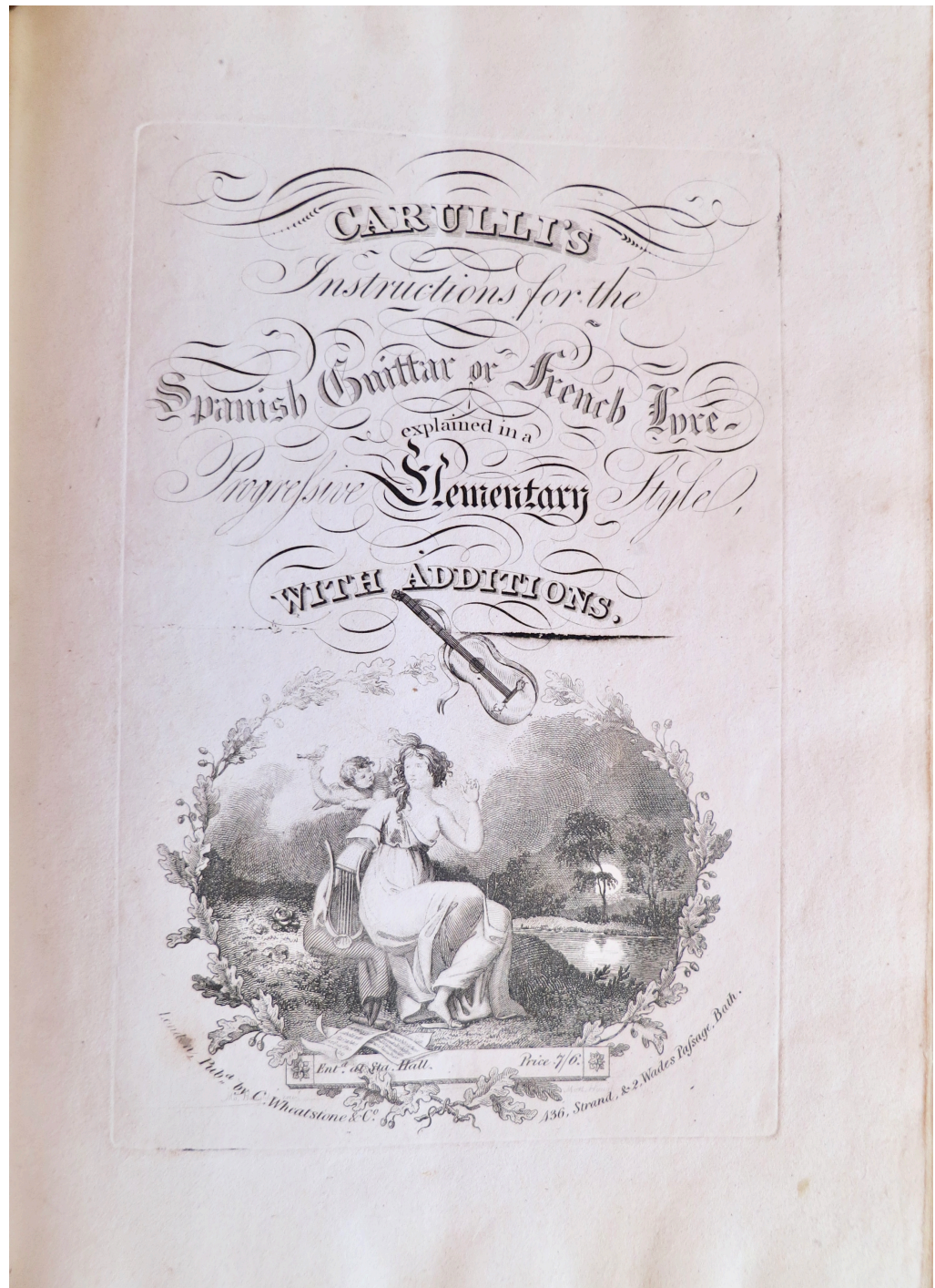


Figure 5:13. Carulli/Anon, *Instructions*, Title page.

5.4.3. The Adequate Books 1800-1850: Adults and Children

A theme that was identified with the detailed books remains present with these adequate ones; the assumption that most players would have use of a piano. Twenty-six suggest that the guitars can be tuned to one. Douro made it clear in 1823 that there was 'scarcely

a house without a piano' and Derwort echoed this in 1828 saying that there was 'almost no house in England' without one'.⁶²⁹

Many of the writers also continue to assume that pupils will already have musical skills before starting the guitar, presumably from piano lessons. Rudiments are only given in twenty of the books and of these four only offer the rudiments of rhythm. Derwort talks of people who 'already know music' and the anonymous author of 1828 referred to 'those who know music'.⁶³⁰ Later Marescot made it clear that 'as he presumes that every person before commencing the study of the Guitar is familiar with the first principles of Music it is not his intention to give the Rudiments'.⁶³¹

There is no indication that any of the books are intended for use by young children. It is revealing to note the way in which three of the authors also published instruction books for the piano in which children are mentioned. In these piano books West advises that children whose feet are not able to touch the ground should be provided with a footstool; Rudolphus suggests playing the childlike game of subdividing steps while walking for those who have difficulty counting; and Hamilton recommends the use of a metronome and hand guide to all those 'interested in the progress of young pupils'.⁶³² No similar suggestions are given in the guitar books by these same authors.

There are two new ideas in these adequate books that were not in the detailed ones: the first is the notion that these volumes will facilitate fast learning and the second is that a few claim to cater for self-instruction. These ideas, to some extent, follow on from the assumption in some that pupils will already have musical knowledge. Thus, Derwort ambitiously claimed that 'a person who already knows music, may be able to play the whole book through in a month'. He modified this unrealistic advertising in the second

⁶²⁹ Douro, *Preceptor*, p. 2. Derwort, *New Method*, p. 11.

⁶³⁰ Derwort, *New Method*, p. 6. Anon/L.L., *New Method*, p. 1.

⁶³¹ Marescot, *Instructions*, (1842), p. 1.

⁶³² Jean Jousse, *Jousse's Piano-Forte Preceptor, Revised, Modernised, and Greatly Enlarged*, rev. by Henry West (London: G. H. Davidson, [1850]), p. 21. C. Rudolphus, *Elementary and Practical Instruction Book, or Daily Progressor, for the Pianoforte* (London: Wessel & Co., [1846]), p. 9. James Hamilton, *Hamilton's Modern Instructions for the Pianoforte*, 13th edn (London: R. Cocks & Co., [1849]), p. 7.

edition, which came soon after the first, saying: 'This Instruction Book [...] is calculated to enable those who have a previous knowledge of Music, to play and accompany well on that Instrument, in the course of two or three months'.⁶³³

Speed of learning was also promised by three other writers including Marescot who suggested that those who had 'not studied music in their youth, or who have but little time to bestow on this pleasing instrument' can learn accompaniments or some other pieces to produce a 'pleasing effect'.⁶³⁴ The users of these books would have been amongst those that Charlotte Moscheles, wife of the pianist Ignaz, wrote about noting the English likeness for 'easy flowing music' in the late 1820s. She described the frustration of her husband when the mother of a pupil would ask him to teach this female pupil 'something with a pretty tune in it, brilliant and not too difficult'.⁶³⁵ She was writing about girls from the leisured aristocratic and middle classes who learnt to play an instrument as an accomplishment.

Self-instruction is referred to in six books. Of these, three, by Douro, Rudolphus and West, clearly state this on their title pages. The three others, Carulli/Anon, Anon/L.L., and Kirkman, suggest the possibility of self-instruction without giving the notion complete approval. In Anon/L.L. the author says that self-instruction would be possible for those already familiar with music while the remaining two books make it clear that a teacher is needed beyond the elementary stage.⁶³⁶ It is not absolutely clear why the writers were promoting self-instruction; there is no obvious difference in layout or content from other books and, as Page has pointed out, they do not really give sufficient detail which suggests that they were probably sold to accompany the work of a teacher.⁶³⁷ However, Douro gives some insight into why self-instruction might be thought necessary on the

⁶³³ Derwort, *New Method*, p. 6. Derwort, *New Method*, 2nd edn, p. 5.

⁶³⁴ Marescot, *Instructions* (1842), p. 1. For other books that mentioned speed of learning see Aguado, *Simple Method*, front cover. Anon, *Master and Scholar*, title page.

⁶³⁵ Moscheles, *Life of Moscheles*, i, p. 141.

⁶³⁶ Anon/L.L., *New Method*, p. 1. Carulli/Anon, *Instructions*, p. 1. Kirkman, *Method*, p. 1.

⁶³⁷ Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 162.

cover of his book which he says is designed for those ‘who cannot procure the aid of Masters’.⁶³⁸ This difficulty may have been because students lived in places where there were no teachers or it may have been because the cost of lessons was too high. However, both Rudolphus and West in their piano method books make it clear that a teacher is essential.⁶³⁹ This difference in approach may have been an acknowledgement that many piano pupils were young children who would need a teacher whereas guitar students may generally have been older and more able to teach themselves. Or, it may have been the case that guitar teachers were much less numerous than piano teachers and therefore hard to find, or that the guitar was considered less worthwhile than the piano in some way, and therefore needed no professional tuition.

5.4.4. The Adequate Books 1800-1850: Repertoire

Song accompaniments were seen as important by most of the authors. Sperati set the tone by writing: ‘The Spanish Guitar as an accompaniment is capable not only to produce all the beauties and variety of Harmony as well as any other Instrument, but for the multiplicity, rapidity etc. of its harpeggios [*sic*] may be superior to them’.⁶⁴⁰ Of the forty-three books sixteen of the first editions seen included songs. Some writers who had only included guitar solos at first saw the need to add songs in later editions. Derwort was one of these and noted in the preface to his second edition, which came out approximately three years after the first, that ‘several songs have been introduced, the want of which in

⁶³⁸ Douro, *Preceptor*, front cover.

⁶³⁹ Rudolphus writes: ‘It is of the highest importance in the acquirement of a perfect knowledge of the Art of Piano-Forte playing that the First Lessons of the Pupil should be directed by an experienced Master. Bad habits once contracted are rarely, if ever, totally eradicated’. Rudolphus, *Progressor for the Pianoforte*, p. 1. West writes: ‘There is no qualification more important to the learner than that of fingering. The lessons of a skilful master in this department are absolutely indispensable’. Jousse, *Preceptor*, p. 21.

⁶⁴⁰ Sperati, *Instructions*, p. 1.

the former edition, was frequently noticed.⁶⁴¹ Books that did not include any songs also acknowledged the importance of accompaniments. Phipps made this clear at the top of a page of arpeggio exercises: 'As accompaniments to the Voice generally consist of Arpeggios these Exercises will be found particularly useful'.⁶⁴² All but one of the books give exercises of chords and arpeggios which would lend themselves to accompaniments although only Eulenstein and Kirkman specify this.⁶⁴³ Many songs would have been for female voices; a few note this in the text. For example, Green wrote that guitar accompaniments would 'harmonise and sustain the plaintive softness of the female voice'.⁶⁴⁴ Other writers imply that their repertoire is for women by suggesting that these accompaniments would enhance female elegance, and, for example, 'afford opportunities of displaying graces'.⁶⁴⁵

The books rely heavily on drawing-room repertoire. There are many dances, especially waltzes. Interest in Celtic music remains with the melody 'Robin Adair' and the supposed Irish piece 'My Lodging is on Cold Ground'.⁶⁴⁶ The British national anthem features in seven books. It is, however, with the many opera melodies that a distinct upper-class bias is revealed. A majority of the pieces were taken from works that were, or had been, performed at the King's Theatre. 'Di tanti palpiti' from Rossini's opera *Tancredi*, first performed there in 1820,⁶⁴⁷ is included in two books. The melody of 'Nel cor più non me

⁶⁴¹ Derwort, *New Method*, 2nd edn, p. 6. For other books that added songs into later editions see Anon, *Master & Scholar*; Eulenstein, *Practical Method*, and Prucilli, *Rudiments*. The later edition of the Eulenstein was produced in the 1890s with songs arranged by Frank Mott Harrison.

⁶⁴² Carulli/Phipps, *Method*, p. 8.

⁶⁴³ Eulenstein, *Practical Method*, p. 17. Kirkman, *Method*, p. 6. The book that does not include chord and arpeggio exercises is Aguado, *Simple Method*, which deals only with solo playing.

⁶⁴⁴ Green, *Hints*, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁵ Anon/L.L. *New Method*, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁶ Simpson notes that 'Robin Adair' was originally an Irish melody 'Eileen Aroon' but was thought of as Scottish with the words 'Robin Adair'. See Harold Simpson, *A Century of Ballads 1810-1910* (London: Mills & Boon, 1910), p. 47.

⁶⁴⁷ 'King's Theatre', *Morning Post*, 8 May 1820.

sento' from Paisiello's opera *La Molinara* is given in four books. This opera was performed at the King's Theatre in 1817.⁶⁴⁸ The same number of books used themes from Auber's opera *Masaniello* which came to London in 1829. Although sung in English at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane it had been preceded in the same year by its production as a ballet at the King's Theatre.⁶⁴⁹

The composer whose music was most often used was Mozart with pieces from *Il flauto magico* and *Le nozze di Figaro* which were given their first performances in London at the King's Theatre, in Italian, in 1811 and 1812 respectively.⁶⁵⁰ In total ten books took pieces from these operas. Chabran was the first to use 'O dolce concento' from *Il flauto magico*. He sought to please his upper class pupils by stating in the title that it was 'sung by Mme Catalani in the opera of *Le virtuose in puntiglio*'.⁶⁵¹ Catalani was the most well known Italian soprano at that time. She commanded high fees and took the role of Susannah when *Le nozze di Figaro* was given its first performance in London in 1812.⁶⁵² However, the occasion that Chabran referred to may have been an earlier one when she probably included the aria as an extra during a performance of the opera by Fioravanti in 1808.⁶⁵³ Aria insertions by singers were common; singers would introduce arias of their choosing into an opera so that they could assert themselves and display their particular strengths.⁶⁵⁴ It is possible that Chabran observed first hand the impact Mme Catalani

⁶⁴⁸ 'King's Theatre', *Morning Chronicle*, 7 March 1817.

⁶⁴⁹ 'Drury Lane Theatre', *Morning Chronicle*, 5 May 1829.

⁶⁵⁰ King, 'Vignettes', p. 26.

⁶⁵¹ Chabran, *Instructions*, p. 14. This book was probably published before the first London performance of *Il flauto magico*.

⁶⁵² For details of Catalani's career see: Julian Marshall, 'Catalani', in *Dictionary* ed. by Grove, i (1879), 319-22.

⁶⁵³ 'King's Theatre', *Morning Chronicle*, 13 June 1808. Note was made that Catalani would be performing in Fioravanti's *La virtuose in puntiglio*.

⁶⁵⁴ For a description of the practice of aria insertion see Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 3. Sometimes the added arias might take the place of part of the host opera or sometimes they were additional. They usually, but not always, came from an opera.

would have had on her audience; he was at that time a violinist at the King's Theatre and may have been in the band at that performance.⁶⁵⁵

Works of guitarist composers featured in many of the books. Whilst pieces by Sor and Giuliani are used it is the music of Carulli that is dominant. He composed many didactic works for the guitar and, and as Stenstadvoid rightly says, his *Méthode Complete* opus twenty-seven of 1810 became the most used guitar method in the nineteenth century. It went through six editions in the author's lifetime and in revised versions continues to be used today. It is so successful because it provides the student with likeable pieces in a systematic structure.⁶⁵⁶ Four books were published in England in the first half of the nineteenth century that claimed to be Carulli's *Méthode* although they were in reality considerably altered. Nevertheless, the anonymous author/editor of one expressed clearly how welcome Carulli's repertoire was: 'Carulli stands confessedly pre-eminent in the Invention of First Lessons for the Guitar as they are most felicitously adapted to the genius of the Instrument & to the formation of the Hand & with Professors of experience are in higher esteem for Beginners than any Popular Melodies however beautiful'.⁶⁵⁷

Carulli's music was used in twelve books. One piece in particular, a simple 'Waltz' in C major from his *Méthode* (opus twenty-seven), featured in eight and in an abbreviated version without the section in A minor in a further one.⁶⁵⁸ Figure 5:14 gives the complete piece as it is in Bennett's *Instructions*.

⁶⁵⁵ Philip Highfill, Kalman Burnim, and Edward Longhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale, Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993), III (1975), pp. 134-36.

⁶⁵⁶ For a list of the editions of Carulli's Method published before 1860 with a clear summary of why this work was so successful see Stenstadvoid, *Bibliography*, pp. 59-71.

⁶⁵⁷ Anon, *Master and Scholar*, front cover.

⁶⁵⁸ The piece is in: Anon, *Master and Scholar*; Bennett, *Instructions*; Carulli/Anon, *Instructions*; Carulli/Bertioli, *Method*; Carulli/Phipps, *Method*; Corino, *Instructions*; Hamilton, *Tutor*; Rudolphus, *Method*; Sosson, *Instruction Book*. The shortened version is in Corino, *Instructions*. The composer is not named in the books by Corino, Hamilton, Rudolphus and Sosson.

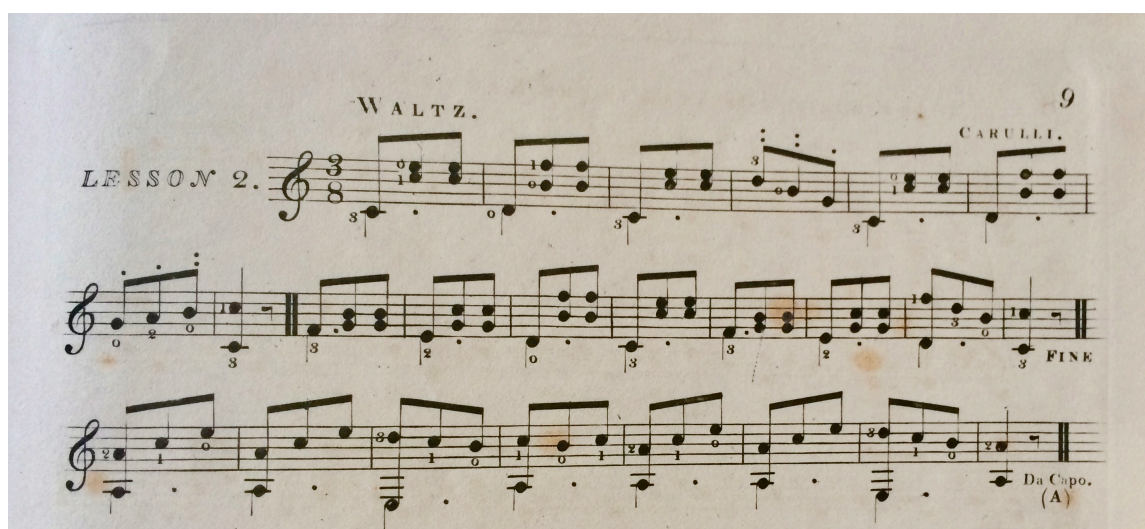


Figure 5.14. Carulli 'Waltz', in Bennett, *Instructions*, p. 9.

Four of the books that use this piece do not acknowledge the composer. It is simple and pleasing and remains in the student repertoire today, as such it would have been ideal for young women who were learning the instrument as an accomplishment.

Many of the amateurs using these adequate books would have had much in common with those who used the detailed books. They would have been at least well-off and the guitar would often have been taken up as a second instrument after the piano. Nothing has been found to suggest that they were for the use of young children. However, unlike the detailed books, the iconography, dedications, and repertoire suggest that more of the players were female than male. This suggests that men who took up the instrument expected to become more proficient and that many women were content to remain in a traditional role in which only their modest skill was acceptable to polite society.⁶⁵⁹ Further changes will become apparent in the books that were published later in the second half of the century.

⁶⁵⁹ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, p. 251.

5.5.1. The Adequate Books 1851-1900: Introduction and Prices

The criteria that were used to include books in the 'Adequate' section of the first half of the century have also been used for the 'Adequate' books of the second half. The books are listed here.

The Adequate Method Books 1851-1900 seen with earliest possible dates of first editions.

Pratten (C. J. Pelzer), *Instructions*. [1854].
G. Luigi, *Instruction Book*. [1857-1859].
Ciebra, Don., *Hand-Book*. [1862-1864].
Sorrini, *Tutor*. [1866-1869].
Journet, *Tutor*. [1870-1897].
Pratten, *Learning the Guitar Simplified*. 1874.
Capacio, *Method*. 1881.
Forman, *Tutor*. [1881-1889].
Carli, *Tutor*. [1885-1889].
Ballantine, *Tutor*. [1886-1889].
A. Luigi, *Tutor*. [1888-1890].
Dore, *Instructions*. 1889.
Hucke, *Tutor*. [1893-1894].
Redmond, *Tutor*. 1894.
Borschitzky, *School*. [1891-1897].
Nice, *School*. [1892-1899].
Ellis, *Practical School*. 1893.
Fleming, *Method*. 1897.
Plumbridge. *Tutor*. 1897.

Table 5:3 shows the prices of the books with probable dates of publication. As with Tables 5:1 and 5:2, where an accurate date has not been established the earliest possible one has been used. In addition, there has been particular uncertainty with two. Stenstadvold has pointed out that the book by Sorrini is almost certainly an earlier publication than the publisher details on the copy seen would suggest.⁶⁶⁰ However, in the absence of any other information the date implied by the publisher details has been used here. The second difficulty came with the Borschitzky book where no price has been found and the book is therefore not included in the table.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁶⁰ Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. 184.

⁶⁶¹ The library acquisition date on the copy seen was a few weeks before his death. For a report of his suicide see 'Suicide of a Composer', *The Standard*, 27 October 1897. In a letter addressed to the coroner he explained that he had finished work on his books and had placed copies in the British Museum. The book may never have been for sale.

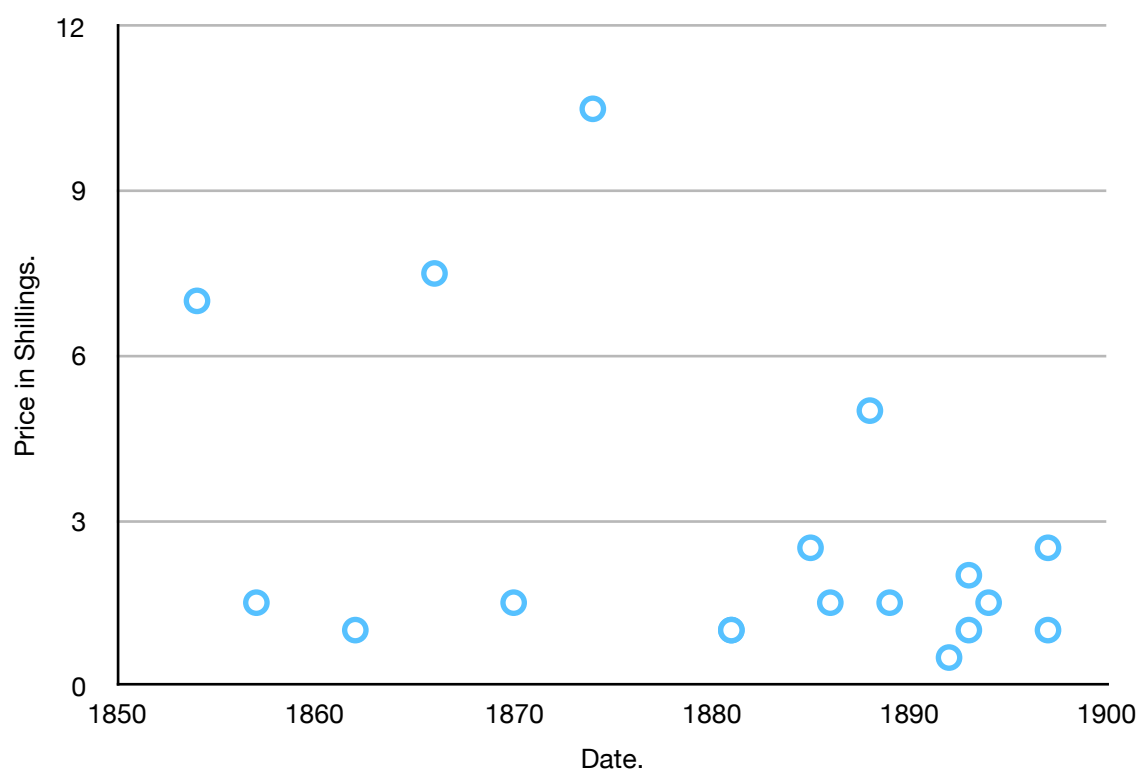


Table 5:3. Prices of the Adequate Method Books with dates of earliest editions seen 1851-1900.

Table 5:3 shows the same trend of falling prices that the detailed books displayed. Prior to 1850 the average price of a book had been just under six shillings. In the half century after 1850 this average price was close to two shillings and ninepence. As with the detailed books the decrease was most marked in the 1890s and shows that widening groups of people would have afforded them, particularly as many would have been sold at discounted prices as described earlier.

The books listed above only give a partial view of the volumes that were being used in these particular years because there is evidence that many of the books published prior to 1850 continued to be available until late in the century, some with reduced prices, and a few were also still in print in the twentieth century.⁶⁶² The reductions in prices of some of these are shown below.

⁶⁶² Weedon has suggested that, in order to reduce costs, some publishers during the depression years chose to reprint books rather than publish new ones in order to reduce capital tied up in stock. Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: the Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836-1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 158.

The Adequate Books first published prior to 1850 that continued to be available after 1850 with their prices.⁶⁶³

Bennett.	(1829: Eight shillings)	1864: Eight shillings.
Corino.	(1835: Three shillings)	[1869]: Two shillings.
Derwort.	(1825: Ten shillings)	[1873]: Ten shillings and sixpence.
Eulenstein.	(1837: Six shillings)	[1893]: Three shillings.
Kirkman.	(1830: Twelve shillings)	1852: Twelve shillings.
G. Luigi.	(1842: Seven shillings)	[1894]: Two shillings and threepence. ⁶⁶⁴
Muscarelli.	(1835: Six shillings)	1852: Six shillings.
Phipps.	(1849: Seven shillings)	[1860]: Four shillings.
Sola.	(1820: Five shillings)	[1897]: Six shillings.
Verini, Bk.1.	(1826: Seven shillings and sixpence)	1852: Seven shillings and sixpence.

The average price of the first editions was just over seven pounds. Although two of the books, by Derwort and Sola, rose slightly in price after 1850 the average in the second half of the century fell to just over six pounds.

5.5.2. The Adequate Books 1851-1900: Dedications, Iconography, and Photographs.

The dedications in this section are conspicuous by their absence and therefore are unable to give indications of the class and gender of the amateurs using them. However, two authors refer to nobility on the covers of their books without making formal dedications showing that for them this connection was important. Pratten in the second edition of *Learning the Guitar Simplified* of 1880 states that the book was used by the Princesses Louise and Beatrice, both daughters of Queen Victoria. Ballantine lists eighteen titled people on the front cover of his book by whom he has been 'Specially honoured'. Of these people fourteen are women and four men.

⁶⁶³ The later editions were all seen and are listed Appendix 1 with the exceptions of: Corino, listed in Stenstadvold *Bibliography*, p.79; Bennett, listed in *Complete Catalogue of the Music Published by Chappell & Co.*, (London: Chappell & Co., 1864), p. 141. Kirkman, Muscarelli and Verini listed in *Catalogue of Music, Instrumental and Vocal* (London: Cramer, Beale & Co., 1852), pp. 175-76.

⁶⁶⁴ Two copies of Luigi's *Instructions* dating from the 1890s have been seen with different prices, one of two shillings and one of two shillings and sixpence. Here an average of the two prices has been used.

Few illustrations convey images of wealth or high fashion. Some copies seen of Pratten's two books, *Instructions* and *Learning the Guitar Simplified*, include copies of the drawing by Baugniet of the author (see Figure 5:6) that was also in her *Guitar School* and thus convey an aristocratic image.⁶⁶⁵ Both are early editions and no copies dating after the mid 1880s have been seen with this illustration. These are the only indications that upper-class pupils were expected; other books suggest that a clientele from a broader social spectrum of both men and women was being anticipated. It is significant, in this respect, that the edition of Sola's *Instructions*, which had first been published in 1820 with a picture of a fashionable girl on a *chaise longue* on the title page, was reissued in the 1890s without this image, the remainder of the book remaining the same. Two of the books, by Ballantine and Nice, have photographs of the authors on their front covers. As with the photograph of Ellis on his *Thorough School* (see Figure 5:8), both convey respectability with their well-dressed images. Capacio includes a simple drawing inside his book of two people playing the guitar, one a woman and the other a man with no prominence given to either. They are respectably dressed although the woman's costume was not the height of fashion for the 1870s.⁶⁶⁶ Two books, by Don Ciebra and Journet have simple drawings of guitars to decorate their covers.

Although not illustrations as such, changes in the cover designs were significant. On four of the books the publisher's name took prominence over that of the author on the cover and title page. The first of these was *Chappell's Popular Instruction Book for the Guitar* by G. Luigi which subsequently became *Metzler and Co's Tutor for the Guitar* when

⁶⁶⁵ Pratten *Instructions* 10th edn (GB-Lbl); Pratten *Learning the Guitar Simplified* 2nd edn (GB-Ob). Other copies seen of these books from the same period do not include the illustration. It was referred to in the title of the early editions of her *Guitar School* but was not mentioned in the titles of her other two books and it seems unlikely that it was usually supplied with them.

⁶⁶⁶ The woman's dress is not a fashionable one for the 1870s, there is no bustle in the skirt. For full details of the fashions of that time see Willett Cunningham, *Women's Clothing*, pp. 254-308.

it was taken over by that publisher.⁶⁶⁷ This little volume showed how publishing was becoming increasingly commercial.⁶⁶⁸ For G. Luigi the publisher presented the book as one of a series of instruction books for different instruments which were promoted on the title pages and covers.

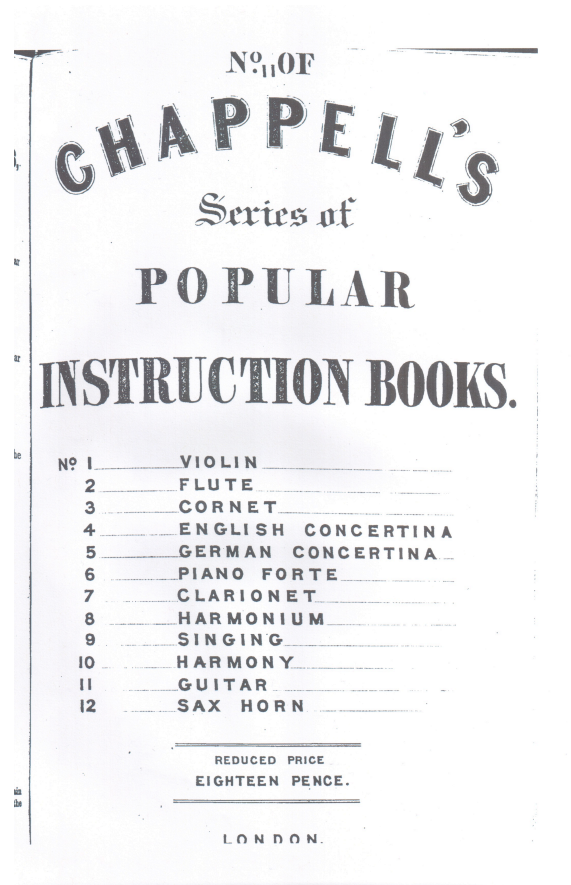


Figure 5:15. G. Luigi, *Popular Instruction Book*, Title page.

The Chappell copy of 1857 (Figure 5:15) advertises eleven other books and the later Metzler copy advertises thirty-four others on the back cover. Prior to this publication the

⁶⁶⁷ The copyright of the book was probably taken over by Metzler when Frank Chappell took over the running of the company with George Metzler in 1866. See Nial O'Loughlin, 'Metzler', *Grove Music Online*, (2014), <<https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-4002255691>> [accessed 7 July 2020].

⁶⁶⁸ Derek Scott discusses how publishers became increasingly commercial with their activities as reflected in the way some sponsored concerts. See Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 207.

only book in which the publisher's name came before that of the author and in addition also promoted other instruction books was by Rodwell.⁶⁶⁹

5.5.3. The Adequate Books 1851-1900: Adults and Children.

There are indications of a changing and widening clientele in the books of this period. The tone was set early by Don Ciebra who was looking to the less well off middle class noting that the 'very moderate cost of a good Guitar [...] is a consideration'.⁶⁷⁰ To this sentiment was added the low cost of the book itself; one shilling. The piano remained the favourite tool to aid tuning a guitar, a feature which was mentioned in thirteen books. However, as piano ownership became more widespread this advice no longer implied that the users of the books had considerable wealth (See above, Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3).

None of the books specify that they are for children and there are also fewer indications that pupils were starting the guitar as a second instrument. For example, fourteen of the books assume pupils may not already be able to read music and give rudiments in their early pages, a proportion of 73.5%.⁶⁷¹ This contrasts with a figure of 38% for the adequate books in the first half of the century.⁶⁷² Huckle was unusual because, whilst he did not include rudiments in his guitar book, he did in his Violin Tutor.⁶⁷³

With the exception of Huckle, the authors who also published books for other instruments made few differences in their approach in contrast to earlier authors who had published both guitar and piano method books. Two authors, Ballantine and Journet,

⁶⁶⁹ Rodwell, *Handbook*. The other handbooks in this series were for Pianoforte; Singing; Flute; Cornet à piston and Violin. Later in the century the books in which the publisher's name was most prominent were: Carli, *Tutor*; Huckle, *Tutor*; Plumbridge, *Tutor*, and Redmond, *Tutor*. For all these publishers the guitar books were one of a series of tutor books for different instruments.

⁶⁷⁰ Ciebra, *Hand-Book*, p. 1.

⁶⁷¹ The books that do not give the rudiments of music are: Borschitzky, *School*; Carli, *Tutor*; Huckle, *Tutor*; Pratten, *Instructions*; Pratten, *Learning the Guitar Simplified*.

⁶⁷² The three books that only include the rudiments of rhythm are not included in this figure.

⁶⁷³ George Huckle, *Turner's Universal Violin Tutor* (London: John Alvey Turner, 1898).

promote their guitar books for self-instruction. Ballantine also does this with his *Complete Book of Instruction for the Banjo* as does Journet with his *Tutor for the Mandoline*.⁶⁷⁴

5.5.4. The Adequate Books 1851-1900: Repertoire

The use of the guitar as an accompanying instrument remained an important feature in these books. In addition to songs with accompaniments, much space is given to chords and arpeggios that will, in the words of Ciebra, 'enable a Performer with a good ear and ordinary aptitude, to execute an impromptu Accompaniment to almost any melody'.⁶⁷⁵ Later Fleming spoke for others of the later period noting that 'the secret of being an artist upon the guitar is to have a complete knowledge of all the chords'.⁶⁷⁶ Accompaniments to songs would not have been the only use of these chords that the writers from the late 1880s onwards would have had in mind. In the decades at the end of the century, bands of guitars with mandolins and bands with banjos, mandolins, and guitars were numerous. Although references to them were not made in the method books the guitar nevertheless had an important accompanying role in these groups.⁶⁷⁷

The repertoire offered in the books attempted to maintain the 'drawing-room' image of the instrument of the earlier part of the century. Ballads by Thomas Moore continued to be popular, his 'Last Rose of Summer' being in four books.⁶⁷⁸ Only the National Anthem was used as frequently.⁶⁷⁹ Celtic ballads had their place; Ballantine includes the

⁶⁷⁴ William Ballantine, *Complete Book of Instruction for the Banjo* (London: John Alvey Turner, 1884). H. Journet, *Tutor for the Mandoline* (London: Journet, [1894]).

⁶⁷⁵ Ciebra, *Hand-Book*, p. 9.

⁶⁷⁶ Fleming, *Method*, p. 8.

⁶⁷⁷ Sparks describes how the guitar is better suited to playing chords and arpeggios than melodic lines when playing in ensembles with mandolins. See Sparks, *Classical Mandolin*, p. 196.

⁶⁷⁸ The books that included Moore's 'Last Rose of Summer' were by Ciebra, Ellis, G. Luigi, and Huckle.

⁶⁷⁹ The national anthem was in books by Ciebra, Ellis, and Nice. It was also in the last edition of Pratten, *Instructions*, that was published after 1877.

'Celebrated Irish melody' of 'The Ash Grove'.⁶⁸⁰ Scottish pieces and pieces composed in a 'Scottish' style remained popular and included 'Annie Laurie' by Alison Scott.⁶⁸¹ Arrangements of dances such as waltzes, polkas and rondos are given in eight books.

At the same time, a detailed look at the opera extracts included in the repertoire gives an indication that the method books were beginning to be directed towards a broader spectrum of social classes. Although Italian extracts are to be found, along with pieces by Balfe and Flotow, their significance as the preference of the aristocracy was receding. Scott has noted that this was partly due to the increasing popularity of performances of Rossini's operas in English.⁶⁸² However, the issue of language was also addressed by the use of instrumental arrangements rather than vocal pieces with accompaniments. Thus, for example, Ellis arranged the 'Grand March' from *Norma* by Bellini. Only Pratten gives Italian words to songs.

Compared with the first half of the century relatively little use was made of the works of the early nineteenth-century guitarists such as Carulli, Giuliani, and Sor. Only Sorrini and Journet make extensive use of music from this period. However, many of the writers used repertoire from America and the Minstrels; even a book by an American musician, Leon Dore, alias Septimus Winner, was published by an English publisher.⁶⁸³ There had only been very occasional instances of north American pieces earlier in the century. For example, Chabran included the 'Bonja Song' in his book of 1810. This song provided one of the earliest references to the banjo in England; it was published in this country soon after 1802 and was described as 'A Favorite Negro Air'.⁶⁸⁴ One of the earliest supposed

⁶⁸⁰ Ballantine, *Tutor*, p. 25.

⁶⁸¹ 'Annie Laurie' is in Ciebra, *Hand-Book*, p. 17 and Pratten, *Instructions*, 10th edn, p. 46. Derek Scott describes how Alicia Scott adapted words from an earlier song and composed the music. It was first published in 1838. See Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, pp. 96-97.

⁶⁸² Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 16.

⁶⁸³ Dore, *Instructions*. The pseudonyms used by Septimus Winner are listed in: D. Wepman, 'Winner, Septimus', *American National Biography Online* <<http://www.anb.org/articles/18/18-03837.html>> [accessed 29 May 2017].

⁶⁸⁴ Chabran, *Instructions*, pp. 20-21. The British Library copy of *Bonja Song, A Favorite Negro Air for the Piano-Forte* published by Broderip and Wilkinson has a watermark of 1802.

American song writers whose compositions were very popular was Henry Russell; although born in England he was thought of as American because he spent time there;⁶⁸⁵ many of his songs were included by Ciebra in his *Hand-Book*.

A major source of interest in American music was the repertoire of the blackface minstrels who first came to England in the 1840s with their accompaniments usually played by banjos, tambourines, and bones. One of the earliest groups were the Ethiopian Serenaders of the 1840s who established the respectability of minstrelsy when they performed to Queen Victoria in 1846.⁶⁸⁶ These groups became extremely popular; there were two large ones in London. The Christy Minstrels, who became the Moore and Burgess Minstrels from 1871, had their base at the Lower Saint James's Hall in Piccadilly from 1859 until 1900. The second were the Mohawk Minstrels who were based in Islington for most of their existence. These shows and their repertoire appealed to the upper and middle classes and they maintained the respectability that they had established early on; their shows were seen as wholesome family entertainment.⁶⁸⁷

Four of the tutor book authors were minstrels and minstrel songs were used in seven of the books.⁶⁸⁸ It is hardly surprising that Ballantine, a Christy Minstrel himself, should include a piece from the Christy Minstrel repertoire. He chose Stephen Foster's last song, the nostalgic 'Beautiful Dreamer'.⁶⁸⁹ Pratten also chose a Foster song, making an

⁶⁸⁵ Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 38.

⁶⁸⁶ Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 87.

⁶⁸⁷ See Harrey Reynolds, *Minstrel Memories The Story of Burnt Cork Minstrelsy in Great Britain from 1836 to 1927* (London: Alston Rivers Ltd, 1928) and Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*. The respectability of the minstrels is described in Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy*, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁸ Forman was with the Mohawk Minstrels for over twenty years and Redmond, a violinist, was also with the group. See Reynolds, *Minstrel Memories*, p.149. Ballantine was a Christy Minstrel. See William Ballantine, 'Christy Minstrelsy', *The English Illustrated Magazine*, October 1909, pp. 43-52. In an advertisement Nice described himself as 'the Renowned Banjoist, Negro Comedian, Stump Orator, and Author', See Advertisements, *The Era*, 13 June 1896. From this list of activities there can be no doubt that he performed with a minstrel group although it is not known which one.

⁶⁸⁹ Ballantine, *Tutor*, p. 33. The song is included in *Cramer's Vocal Gems. No. 2, 15 Christy Minstrels' Songs* (London: Cramer and Co., [1869]), pp. 27-28. It is described as nostalgic and the last song that Foster wrote in *Parlour Song Book*, ed. by Turner and Miall, p. 277.

arrangement of 'O Willie we have Missed You' which was in the Christy Minstrel repertoire; she did not acknowledge the composer.⁶⁹⁰

As the minstrels were seen as respectable their songs were easily drawn into the drawing-room genre; this was not so easy for music-hall songs and their virtual absence from the guitar method books may suggest a bias away from lower middle-class and working-class users of the books. Whereas the minstrels were successfully performing to the upper middle class and the gentry, the music-hall clientele, as Russell has noted, would mostly have been from the lower middle and upper working classes after the 1860s. However, it is difficult to generalise and a few middle-class people would have attended all along although their number only became significant in the 1890s.⁶⁹¹ Only one author, Nice, used music-hall repertoire in the last decade of the century. He included two, 'Ta-ra-ra boom-de-ay' by Henry Sayers and 'After the Ball' by Charles Harris.⁶⁹²

Special mention needs to be made of the books by Pratten because it is known that she sought to maintain an exclusive image of the guitar.⁶⁹³ The early editions of Pratten's books drew on drawing-room repertoire which included ballads and pieces from operas as well as the Foster song already mentioned. It is significant that the Italian songs came with Italian words which hinted at an upper-class bias. Her outlook can also be seen by looking at how she changed her two books, *Instructions* and *Learning the Guitar Simplified* in later editions. As she enlarged them she looked back to pieces that she had published earlier including some that had first been published prior to her marriage of 1854. For example, in the later edition of her *Instructions* published after 1877 she added two Italian songs, 'Benedetta sia la madre' and 'Pecchè quanno me vide'. In the second

⁶⁹⁰ Pratten, *Instructions, New and Enlarged Edition*, (1861) p. 38. It is also in her later editions of this book. The song is listed as number 19 of *Popular Melodies sung by Christy's Minstrels* in the catalogue on the front cover of J. R. Thomas, 'Tis but a little Faded Flower' (London: Chappell & Co., n.d.). The other authors who included minstrel songs were: Ciebra, Ellis, A. Luigi, G. Luigi, and Nice.

⁶⁹¹ Russell, *Popular Music*, pp. 79-82.

⁶⁹² Nice, *School*, pp. 22-23, 29-31. Both songs are mentioned in Peter Gammond, *Music Hall Songbook* (London: David and Charles, 1975), p. 19.

⁶⁹³ See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

edition of her *Learning the Guitar Simplified* published in 1880 she added two German songs, 'Bruder ich und du' and 'Als ich an einem Somertag'. These two Italian songs and the German songs had all been first published prior to her marriage of 1854⁶⁹⁴ Her addition of songs that she had published some thirty years earlier may have been one of the ways in which she was trying to preserve the guitar's place in the drawing room. This could have been an astute business decision on her part; Scott has pointed out that the market for music would have had many older class-conscious people in it. For example, mothers who would have chosen and bought music for their daughters and they may have been among the consumers that Pratten had in mind.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁴ All these songs were in a catalogue of music by Catharina Josepha Pelzer on the back of Catharina Pelzer, *Three Neapolitan Songs* (London: Rudall, Rose & Carte, n.d.), back wrapper.

⁶⁹⁵ Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, p. 147.

5.6. The Method Books: Conclusion

The data used for this chapter came from eighty English nineteenth-century method books. The large number of these books published in the 1820s and 1830s confirm that the guitar was enormously popular in those decades. However, not only were new books being published throughout the following Victorian period but many of the earlier ones continued to be available until at least 1900. This therefore provides strong evidence that the guitar did not recede into any of the 'oblivion' described in 1880 by the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.⁶⁹⁶

Further investigation of the content of the books has revealed some details about the amateur players who would have used them. There can be little doubt that these players, in the early Victorian years, would have had some wealth. This association with the wealthy and upper-middle classes is supported by the illustrations and choice of repertoire, particularly Italian opera. In addition, the prices of the books were high and there are indications that the players would have owned, or have had access to, a piano. Many writers specified that a keyboard was needed when tuning the guitar. Pianos were luxury items then and cost significantly more than guitars.

No evidence has been seen to suggest that young children learnt the guitar; no guitar method books were found that were comparable to the children's piano tutor books of the period. This is also confirmed by the virtual absence of advertisements for children's instruments. It is not clear why this should have been so, there was no physical impediment with the size of the instrument. It is possible that the piano was regarded as most appropriate for them.

Conclusions about the gender of players were not so straightforward. Consideration of the illustrations, dedications, and repertoire of the detailed books published before 1850 suggested that both male and female players used the books. However, similar analysis of the iconography, dedications, and drawing-room repertoire in the adequate books revealed a bias towards female players. Thus, male players possibly became more

⁶⁹⁶ Anon, 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xi (1880), 267-68.

advanced, or were expected to be. The greater use of female drawing-room repertoire and dedications to aristocratic ladies in the adequate books indicated that these books were often intended for women, some of whom may have been less dedicated to the instrument and would merely have learnt it as one of their accomplishments.

In the second half of the century there is evidence that both male and female players from a wider social spectrum used the books. The prices fell and there were fewer dedications to, and illustrations of, aristocracy. However, in the repertoire the drawing-room genre, which now included some minstrel songs, remained significant. The presence of this drawing-room genre, largely part of a woman's domain, may partly explain why the *Encyclopædia Britannica* dismissed the instrument. This woman's repertoire, that was not part of so-called high-art music, could not be given serious attention and was therefore of little interest to the writer of the article.

Chapter Six

Case Study The Guitar at Burton Constable Hall⁶⁹⁷

The chapters so far have described evidence that the guitar was played by amateurs throughout the Victorian era. This and the next chapters give examples of two such amateurs from different parts of this era and demonstrate that for both the instrument had a significant place amid a wealth of musical activities. The first is Eliza Chichester (1798-1859, Figure 6:1), whose country residence was Burton Constable Hall, near Hull. Like most members of the aristocracy she was part of 'society' that moved with ease between London and country estates. It is, however, in Yorkshire that most of the surviving materials relating to her guitar playing, and more broadly to the musical life of her family, are to be found. They provide an exceptional dossier of musical, archival, and pictorial sources for the place of the guitar in the early Victorian period. Here the scene will be set by describing something of her family, their social life, and their many travels. This is followed by a discussion of the place music and the guitar had for them both at home and in their wider community in Yorkshire.⁶⁹⁸

6.1. The Family at Burton Constable Hall

Eliza Chichester never married, spending most of her adult life living with the family of her younger sister, Marianne. The girls had been brought up at Calverleigh in Devon and after her marriage in 1827 Marianne became Lady Clifford Constable.⁶⁹⁹ With her

⁶⁹⁷ The material in this chapter formed the basis of an article in *Early Music*. See Sarah Clarke, 'An Early Victorian Amateur Guitarist', *Early Music*, 47:1 (2019), 99-111.

⁶⁹⁸ Music at the Hall in the nineteenth century has been well described in Caroline Wood, 'The Musical World of the Clifford Constables', in *Burton Constable Hall: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Arthur Credland (Beverley: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1998), pp. 56-71, and Wood, 'Music-Making' in *Nineteenth Century British Music Studies*, i ed. by Zon, 209-24. Music in Yorkshire country houses is described in Troughton, 'Role of Music'.

⁶⁹⁹ Wood, 'Music-Making', pp. 210-11.

husband and sister, Marianne moved to Burton Constable Hall in the early 1830s, and they started making it their home. The sisters in particular made extensive refurbishments.⁷⁰⁰



Figure 6:1 Claude-Marie Dubufe, *Eliza Chichester*.

The Hall (Figure 6:2) is a magnificent Elizabethan stately house tucked away in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The Constable family have had their home there for 700 years. The Hall today boasts large collections of furniture, sculpture, and paintings from the

⁷⁰⁰ Ivan Hall, 'French Influence at Burton Constable', *Furniture History*, 8 (1972), 70-77, (p. 72).

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an extensive library, and gardens designed by the famous eighteenth-century landscape architect Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown.⁷⁰¹ Of most interest here, however, is the large collection of music.



Figure 6:2. Burton Constable Hall

Sir Clifford and Marianne were Catholics, travelling frequently to the Continent and in particular to Paris. Surviving accounts for the years 1843 to 1853 show that they went to the French capital nearly every year, staying for weeks and sometimes months at a time.⁷⁰² Ivan Hall has noted that they attended the courts of Louis Philippe after 1830

⁷⁰¹ David Connell, *Burton Constable Hall* (Peterborough: Jarrold Publishing, 2014). p. 52.

⁷⁰² Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, Household and Travel Account Book 1843-1849, DDCC/153/19/14b; and Household and Travel Account Book 1849-1853, DDCC/153/19/14d. One may assume that these years were not isolated examples and that the family travelled throughout their lives.

and Napoleon III after 1848.⁷⁰³ Their acquaintance with the latter is confirmed in an 1853 diary entry of Eliza's, in which she describes how she and Marianne watched the Emperor Napoleon and his Empress Eugénie drive past them in Boulogne after opening a bridge. The empress spotted the sisters and pointed them out to her husband, who turned and took off his hat to acknowledge them.⁷⁰⁴ In addition, Marianne was acquainted with Eugénie's mother, Doña Manuela; a letter from her to Marianne is preserved in the Alba archives in Madrid.⁷⁰⁵ While in Paris, Marianne bought furniture and other items; bedsteads and various things were bought there in 1832, while a desk, table, and chairs were purchased in 1836.⁷⁰⁶ When the historian George Poulson wrote about the Hall in 1841 he commented on the number of their French possessions. He noted that several items had come from the Palace of Versailles, and that the library had a clock which he claimed had belonged to Louis XV.⁷⁰⁷ Entries in account books also reveal that sheet music was bought in Paris, as might be expected of such enthusiastic shoppers.⁷⁰⁸

In addition to their foreign travels Sir Clifford, Marianne and Eliza frequently went to London. Sir Clifford was a Member of Parliament in 1830.⁷⁰⁹ This particular part of his career was short lived, however, as his constituency was one of the so-called 'rotten

⁷⁰³ Ivan and Elisabeth Hall, *Burton Constable Hall* (Beverley: Hull City Museums and Art Galleries and Hutton Press, 1991), p. 12.

⁷⁰⁴ Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, Diary of Lady Clifford Constable [1853], DDCC/150/281. Although this is listed as Lady Constable's diary it is clear from the text that Eliza was the author. I am grateful to Claire Fons and Michel Dargaud for help dating it from the events it describes. Personal communication 27 March 2015.

⁷⁰⁵ Harold Kurtz, *The Empress Eugénie* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964), p. 30.

⁷⁰⁶ Hall, 'French Influence', p. 73.

⁷⁰⁷ George Poulson, *The History of the Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness*, 2 vols (Hull: George Brown, 1840-41), ii (1841), 243-49.

⁷⁰⁸ The account books examined show that music was purchased in Paris in March, April and May 1834, July and September 1846, and July 1848. Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, DDCC/153/16/12b, Day Book 1833-34, DDCC/153/16/12b; Household and Travel Account Book 1843-49, DDCC/153/19/14b. It would seem likely that there were also purchases in the years for which records have not been seen.

⁷⁰⁹ 'Arrival of the Exministers', *Manchester Mercury*, 7 September 1830.

boroughs' that were abolished in the Reform Act of 1832. Nevertheless, he is listed with London addresses in the annual *Boyle's Court Guide* every year from 1828 until 1859 with exceptions in just five years.⁷¹⁰ Reports in *The Times* newspaper indicate that Marianne attended some of Queen Victoria's 'Drawing Room' occasions.⁷¹¹

There is clear evidence that London Society visited the Hall. In its archives is a notebook listing daily some of the visitors for the summer months of 1842, 1843 and 1844.⁷¹² On most of these dates at least five named visitors arrived, and considerably more on some occasions. As we might expect, the aristocracy was well represented. French royalty came to the Hall in 1843 in the shape of the Duke of Bordeaux, who had occupied the French throne for a week in 1830 after the July revolution.⁷¹³ In addition, the family's continental acquaintances included Count St Aulaire, the French ambassador in London, who came with his wife in 1842; the countess visited again, alone, in 1844. Chevalier Bünsen, the Prussian ambassador, visited in 1842 and in 1844 Sarim Effendi, the Turkish ambassador, also stayed.⁷¹⁴ Among the more frequent visitors were a Mr and Mrs Disraeli; since no other Disraelis are listed in *Boyle's Court Guide* for these years, these were without doubt the future Prime Minister and his unconventional wife. Assuming that the years 1842, 1843 and 1844 included in this surviving visitors' book were not isolated examples, it would seem likely that there were visitors throughout the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s.

There were also other people who went to the Hall in these years; those attending bigger events and house parties may have been too many for a visitors' book to list. For

⁷¹⁰ *Boyle's Fashionable Court Guide* was one of the guides that included the names and addresses of those likely to be in court circles, and was published twice annually, in January and April, from 1792 until 1925. For a description see Atkins, 'Spacial Configuration', pp. 47-48.

⁷¹¹ 'Her Majesty's Drawing-Room', *The Times*, May 12 1848, June 2 1851, June 15 1853, June 24 1853, and May 30 1856.

⁷¹² Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, Book-list of Guests 1842-1844, DDCC/150/93.

⁷¹³ 'The Duke of Bordeaux', *The Times*, 18 November 1843.

⁷¹⁴ For a list of the ambassadors see *Post Office London Directory* 1846, pp. 62-63.

example, the *Hull Packet* of 28 April 1843 gives a detailed description of the festivities at the Hall that took place while the Burton Constable races were being held. During the race days some forty or fifty guests from London and elsewhere stayed at the Hall. The article mentions that on the Wednesday the entertainments were most ‘recherché’. After a dinner in the banqueting hall there was an amateur performance of the play *The School for Scandal*. A printed programme for this event has survived, and shows that Marianne and Eliza each took parts, as did other guests.⁷¹⁵ Merriment continued with dancing until five in the morning.

6.2. Music at the Hall

Among the guests at the Hall were several musicians and people with musical connections. A regular visitor of interest to guitar researchers was Lady John Somerset. In the late 1840s and 1850s she was a friend and supporter of Catharina Pratten.⁷¹⁶ Another less direct connection with the nineteenth-century guitar was the frequent presence of Lady and Miss Fremantle who also often visited. These two were the mother and aunt, or perhaps two aunts, of Augusta Hervey (1846-1927), who founded an amateur guitar band in the 1880s and will be described in chapter seven.⁷¹⁷ Professional musicians were often welcomed. Caroline Wood, writing about the music at the Hall, noted that they sometimes came if they were performing in a musical event in Hull. As was the case with other landed aristocrats, Sir Clifford and Marianne were patrons of

⁷¹⁵ Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, Playbills for Burton Constable Theatre 1843-57, DDCC/17/13.

⁷¹⁶ Harrison, *Reminiscences*, pp. 26-27. Harrison describes Lady Somerset as Pratten’s patroness.

⁷¹⁷ Augusta’s headstone, in St Mary’s Roman Catholic Cemetery, London, gives her parents as Lord and Lady William Hervey. For the announcement of the wedding of Lord William to Cecilia Fremantle see ‘Marriages’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, November 1844. Cecilia had three sisters, this Lady Fremantle may have been a sister-in-law. For the family tree see Elizabeth Wynne Fremantle, *The Wynne Diaries*, with contributions from Eugenia Wynne, ed. by Anne Fremantle, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935-40), ii (1937), 249.

many such activities including those of the Hull Choral Society.⁷¹⁸ One such musician was a young German pianist, Charles Hallé, who visited the Hall soon after arriving in England, having fled from the troubled Paris of 1848.⁷¹⁹

Evidence of how much music was enjoyed at Burton Constable can be found in the surviving collection of sheet music. Caroline Wood has noted its extent.⁷²⁰ There are approximately two hundred and thirty hard bound volumes of printed music, and while some might have been bought in that state, others were put together with anything from three to fifty separate items. In addition, there are over one thousand other soft or unbound pieces and a number of hand-written items, mostly preserved in some two-dozen bound volumes. Included are tutor books for a variety of instruments, including piano, violin, voice, flute, cornet, harp, and guitar. The task of cleaning and cataloguing the collection was undertaken by volunteers after ownership of the Hall passed to the Burton Constable Foundation in 1992.⁷²¹ Evidence from pencil markings and well-thumbed pages suggests that much of the music was used, and the level of difficulty ranges from elementary to advanced.⁷²² Many of the volumes are labelled with the name of the family member to whom they must have belonged, so it is thus possible to establish who played what. Sir Clifford Constable played the violin and his son Talbot the cornet. Marianne and Eliza played the piano, harp and guitar. The practice of the family was thus in accord with then-prevailing views of the way in which different instruments were gendered, the guitar being here largely a female's instrument.⁷²³ In addition, the name of a house steward,

⁷¹⁸ Wood, 'Music-Making', p. 221. Similar patronage of musical societies and events was given by other Yorkshire country house owners at this time; see Troughton 'Role of Music', p. 375.

⁷¹⁹ Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. by C. and Marie Hallé (London: Smith Elder, 1896), p.160.

⁷²⁰ Wood, 'Musical World', p. 59.

⁷²¹ Connell, *Burton Constable*, p. 7.

⁷²² Wood, 'Music-Making', pp. 212-13.

⁷²³ Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 3.

Stephen Jay, who had studied the violin at the Royal Academy of Music, appears on three pieces of guitar music, suggesting that he might have played the instrument as well.⁷²⁴

Some of the music dates from the 1820s, before the family took up residence at the Hall, and when the guitar's popularity in England was reaching almost epidemic proportions. Two large bound volumes have handwritten inside the front covers: 'Miss Eliza Chichester, Calverleigh'.⁷²⁵ Both carry labels from Devon saying: 'Bound by H Mead, printer and bookseller, Tiverton'. In addition, one of the manuscript books also has written on the cover: 'Eliza Chichester, Calverleigh'.⁷²⁶ Although music must have featured in the early life of the sisters in Devon, very little so far has been found relating to this time and there is nothing to indicate who might have given them their first lessons. The piano music in the volumes labelled with their names would suggest that they were both good keyboard players and it is likely that they had learnt the piano before the guitar. Nothing has been seen that confirms the identity of their guitar teacher(s) later in life. It is possible, however, that some music tuition took place in Paris during their extended visits. This theory is supported by evidence that Marianne had lessons in the French capital from the Polish pianist, Edouard Wolff. In the music collection at the Hall is his manuscript of a piano piece dedicated to 'Lady Clifford Constable par son dévoué professeur, Paris le 10 Septembre 1852',⁷²⁷ In addition, one of the manuscript books that was bought there, which carries a label of *Henry Papetier*, includes a short guitar piece with performance instructions written in French.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁴ Wood, 'Musical World', p. 61. Wood suggests that Jay was a proficient guitarist. Similar patronage in the same period was bestowed on the pianist Charles Coote at Chatsworth House by the Duke of Devonshire, see Troughton 'Role of Music', p. 100. I am grateful to Adam Taylor of the Royal Academy of Music library for confirming that Jay attended the Academy, studying violin, from 14 May 1840 until 22 October 1843.

⁷²⁵ Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26698 and LDS26653.

⁷²⁶ Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26629.

⁷²⁷ Dedicated to 'Lady Clifford Constable by her devoted teacher'. Edouard Wolff, *Souvenir de Paris, Grande Valse Brilliant, composé espresement pour Lady Clifford Constable*, manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS 26358.

⁷²⁸ Anon, *Petites pieces nationales*, manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26648.

How this music was used, and the high standard of playing that was achieved, can best be understood by looking at a concert that was given by the family and their friends in 1858, even though the guitar was not included in this particular event.⁷²⁹ This was an amateur charity concert in the Music Hall, Jarratt Street, Hull, given to raise money in aid of 'permanent education for the poorest class of poor children within the borough of Hull.'⁷³⁰ At the time the event was regarded as highly unusual. As announced in the *Hull Advertiser*, it was to be 'a transference of the drawing-room of Burton Constable Hall to the Hull Music Hall'. It would not be a professional concert; the Constable family and their guests were to perform. The stage would be set with the 'richest furniture' and the performers were to take their places just as they would at home. The furniture and props were supplied by local traders, who were no doubt keen to be associated with the occasion, and their names were listed at the end of the newspaper review of the evening. (The address of a certain Mr. Bores, who supplied ornaments, was omitted from the paper's first edition, but was added to the second, presumably because the gentleman concerned wanted his due publicity).

The programme has survived (Figure 6:3).⁷³¹ Sir Clifford, Marianne, Eliza, and other guests took part. The pieces included several songs with accompaniments, piano and concertina solos, some duets, and performances of Beethoven's first symphony and the Overture to Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*. The *Hull Advertiser*, which admittedly would have been unlikely to criticise the most important local landowner at such an event, was predictably ecstatic in its praise. The skill of the performers was particularly emphasised, notably Sir Clifford's violin playing which was said to show how 'thoroughly he had studied the art and mastered it'. Marianne's piano playing was also singled out for praise. The

⁷²⁹ The absence of the guitar from the concert helps to confirm the notion that the instrument was reserved for quieter, private occasions as illustrated in the lithograph of the library, see Figure 6:4.

⁷³⁰ The concert was announced in 'Advertisements', *Hull Advertiser*, 20 March 1858. It was reviewed in 'Sir Clifford and Lady Constable's Grand Amateur Drawing-room Concert, Last Evening', *Hull Advertiser*, 10 April 1858. Three editions of each paper were published.

⁷³¹ Beverley, East Riding Archives, Records of the Chichester-Constable Family, Programme of an Amateur Concert, DDCC/150/100.

Beethoven Symphony which opened the concert ‘reflected their ability and taste [...] and [had] an execution which might fairly rank with that of artistes of the highest order’. The event was pronounced ‘a complete triumph’.⁷³² Even allowing for the inevitable bias in the review it seems fair to assume that the performances were accomplished.

MUSIC HALL, JARRATT-STREET, HULL.

AND

AMATEUR CONCERT,

OF

Vocal and Instrumental Music,

WILL TAKE PLACE

ON THE EVENING OF FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1858,

BY THE FOLLOWING DISTINGUISHED AMATEURS

STAYING AT

BURTON CONSTABLE,

Who have most kindly consented to give their services:

LADY WOLSELEY,
MRS. GAGE, MRS. GOLDSMID, MISS STANDISH, MISS CHICHESTER,
LADY CLIFFORD CONSTABLE,
MAJOR GAGE, COLONEL STEPHENS,
SIR CLIFFORD CONSTABLE,
MR. MORANT, MR. JAY, MR. CHARLES SEARLE, MR. FARSEIDE,
SIGNOR GUGLIELMI FELICE,
MR. ROSIER, MR. TALBOT SEARLE,
&c.,

When the accompanying Programme will be performed, interspersed with Vocal Pieces, including Duets and Trios, particulars of which will be duly announced :

SYMPHONY No. 1	Beethoven
DUETT	"Don Juan" for Piano-Forte and Violin..... Wolf & Vieudtemps
SOLO	Concertina..... Blagrove
TRIO	"Op. 35" Piano-Forte, Violin, and Violoncello..... Hummel
SOLO	Piano-Forte..... Osborne & Leopold de Meyer
OVERTURE	"Figaro"..... Mozart

The Doors will open at Seven and the Concert commence at Eight o'Clock.

Plans of the Music Hall are now at Mr. FAGE's, George-Street, for securing the limited number of STALLS at 7s. 6d. each, and the RESERVED SEATS (numbered) at 5s. each.

ROBERT BOWSER, SECRETARY.

The Annual Charity Ball will take place on Monday, the 12th April.

Figure 6:3 Programme of an Amateur Concert, 1858.

⁷³² 'Sir Clifford and Lady Constable's Grand Amateur Drawing-room Concert, Last Evening', *Hull Advertiser*, 10 April 1858.

Since many of the performers were listed in the 1840s guests' book it is likely that occasions such as this were often enjoyed by the family and their friends. The event demonstrated the importance that was attached to music which was not just heard in the immediate confines of the house. Mark Girouard has noted in his book on life in English country houses how landowners would lay on entertainments for local people.⁷³³ The Constables were no exception, and an interesting French import was first offered at the Hall in 1845. This was a brass band competition, the first one in England. It was witnessed by a young Enderby Jackson who, as an enterprising entrepreneur, organised major brass band competitions in London later in the century. It had apparently been the idea of Eliza, who had observed such an event in the south of France and thought it would work well as part of their Magdalen Feast in the deer park.⁷³⁴

6.3. The Guitar at the Hall

There are three sources of evidence concerning the place of the guitar in all this musical activity. The first is very brief and appears in Eliza's diary of 1853. This diary gives an account of a 'grand tour' in very much eighteenth-century style, which she undertook with Clifford and Marianne. They made their way by carriage from the north of England through the Midlands, via London to Folkestone, taking a boat to Boulogne and finishing with a train journey to Paris. Having left Burton Constable on the 28 August they arrived in Paris on the 28 September, staying in London at Mivart's Hotel, which became Claridges the following year, for a couple of days on the way. Early on, following a few days in Scarborough, they arrived at Malton (still in Yorkshire). Eliza writes: 'we got to Malton about 5, a charming hotel with a garden and terrace [...] We had some sandwiches and walked in the garden and could walk while dinner was preparing. We

⁷³³ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 240.

⁷³⁴ Enderby Jackson, 'Origin and Promotion of Brass Band Contests', *Musical Opinion & Music Trade Review*, 330 (1896), 101-03.

were very comfortable. Played the guitar, talked and wrote German.’⁷³⁵ The portable guitar was thus used when travelling just as it was taken on picnics and voyages, as so well described by Panagiotis Pouloupoulos.⁷³⁶ Neither the guitar nor any other music is mentioned again in Eliza’s diary, however. As Leppert has pointed out in describing an earlier period, private music-making may not often have featured in women’s diaries because it was part of everyday life.⁷³⁷ This could have been the case here in the same way as with books, mention is made twice of buying them but nothing is said about the commonplace pastime of reading.⁷³⁸

The second piece of evidence can be seen in a picture of 1841 which is currently displayed at the Hall (Figure 6:4). Some of the family, Marianne, Eliza and Marianne’s only son, Talbot, are shown in a domestic and private moment in the gallery, then known as the library. One of the women is seated playing a guitar, the other is standing reading or singing, and the twelve year-old Talbot is sprawled on the floor nearby. While the detail of the instrument is unclear,⁷³⁹ the depiction of a footstool suggests that the guitarist in the image is a genuine player. The picture was produced as an illustration of the library to be included in George Poulson’s large and detailed two-volume history of the local area of Holderness, which includes Burton Constable Hall, published in 1840-41. In the event it seems that the picture was too large to be included in the volumes and the publisher advised subscribers that it would be available separately if requested. Furthermore, a

⁷³⁵ Diary of Lady Clifford Constable, [1853], DDCC/150/281, entry for 6 September.

⁷³⁶ Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, ‘The Guitar as an “Open-air” Instrument in the Romantic Era’, *Soundboard Scholar* 1 (2015), pp. 4-15.

⁷³⁷ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 147.

⁷³⁸ Diary of Lady Clifford Constable, [1853], DDCC/150/281, entries for 8 and 12 September.

⁷³⁹ Unfortunately the image of the guitar is not clear enough to identify the instrument. I am grateful to James Westbrook for confirming this. (Personal communication 14 April 2018).

limited number of copies had been coloured by H. T. Bulmer, and would be available for an extra charge to cover the cost of colouring and mounting.⁷⁴⁰



Figure 6:4. Lithograph of the Library (now known as the Gallery) at Burton Constable Hall showing Eliza, Marianne, and Marianne's son Talbot; c.1840.

To understand this picture it is important to realise how the library was used at that time. Poulson writes in his Preface how he spent six years researching for his books, and some of his work centred on this room where he consulted 'upwards' of one hundred volumes of manuscripts.⁷⁴¹ This research would have been done in the 1830s; his account of how the room was used is therefore almost certainly accurate. The room is very large, some one hundred and ten feet long, in fact, and the picture does not really do justice to its size. Girouard has described how the library was the chief informal living room of any large

⁷⁴⁰ Poulson, *History*. An errata slip at the beginning of the copy inspected advised the purchaser of the availability of the library illustration.

⁷⁴¹ Poulson, *History*, i p. ix.

country house in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁴² The library at the Hall was certainly employed in this manner, for it was well used by the family and their many guests. Poulson describes in particular how three recesses on the right-hand side of the room were employed.⁷⁴³

Of these, the first two are large bay windows which form part of the room itself. The first one 'constituted a private theatre' measuring fourteen feet deep and nineteen feet wide, and was used for amateur dramatics in the same way as was a similar library bay window at Tyntesfield in Somerset.⁷⁴⁴ The Constables and their visitors often organised amateur theatrical productions which were taken very seriously; programmes were printed, some of which survive, and elaborate sets were made. No doubt the furniture and ornaments Poulson describes were moved for such events. A little after the time of this picture two adjoining rooms were converted into a theatre and it is revealing that the famous Shakespearean actor Charles Kean is listed twice in the 1840s guests' book.⁷⁴⁵

After the first alcove there are two windows and then there is the second space which was 'appropriated to musical performances'. It contained a grand piano-forte and other musical instruments. The performances that would have taken place here may have included solos, chamber items and larger pieces, such as those that were featured in the charity concert of 1858 in Hull. The final recess is hardly visible in the picture, it is a separate 'reading room' at the end, entered through a small door, and thus not part of the main library.

In order to show off the library, the artist chose not to illustrate the crowded occasions that were evidently taking place there much of the time. Instead, and perhaps to draw the reader into the features of the room better, he chose to depict a very intimate domestic

⁷⁴² Girouard, *Life*, p. 234.

⁷⁴³ Poulson, *History*, ii, 247-48. All references to the library are on these pages.

⁷⁴⁴ Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 198.

⁷⁴⁵ Book-list of Guests 1842-44, DDCC/150/97. Kean is listed on 28 May 1842 and again with his wife on 17 June the same year. For a review of Kean's performance in Hull which noted that the actor was a guest at the Hall see 'The Theatre', *Hull Packet*, 5 November 1841.

scene with just three of the family. The musical instrument used to enhance this view is the guitar. The instruments that were in the second alcove are hardly featured although it is just possible to make out the outlines of a harp, the piano-forte, and a music stand. The near invisibility of the great grand piano-forte suggests that the guitar was an instrument for smaller, more private occasions.

The final area of evidence pertaining to the use of the guitar at Burton Constable is sheet music. There is a significant quantity for fretted string instruments in the collection at the Hall, comprising some 300 items. Among the printed music there are a few pieces from the 1820s for 'guitare-harp',⁷⁴⁶ and a small number of eighteenth-century songs with melody parts for 'guittar' appended.⁷⁴⁷ Most, however, are for the guitar with six single strings that the sisters would have played. Songs with guitar accompaniment are to be expected in this period in a collection used by women, and it is no surprise that of the one hundred and thirty items seen seventy, more than half, are songs. Among these is a rare copy of the ballad 'In Such an Hour' with music composed by François Molino.⁷⁴⁸ There are also two bound volumes largely comprising solo guitar music.⁷⁴⁹ In addition there are duets for two guitars, guitar and piano, and guitar with flute or violin. Much is bound into volumes with other items, though some remains loose. While some more elementary things look used, the more advanced music has few markings and may have had less attention. However, in some cases the different parts of duets have been separated and bound into different volumes which might suggest they were indeed used, though less than the easier pieces. Nevertheless, at a time when the instrument was mostly used to

⁷⁴⁶ This was an experimental guitar-variant with seven strings, which did not have lasting success. It was invented by Mordaunt Levien, an English instrument maker, who patented it and published music for it in Paris. For a full description see Hayato Sugimoto, 'Mordaunt Levien and his Instruments', *Galpin Society Journal*, 71 (2018), 57-72. (pp. 67-68).

⁷⁴⁷ For a description of this 'English Guittar' see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.

⁷⁴⁸ Francesco Molino, *In Such an Hour*, (London, 1835). Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26699. This work is not listed in the catalogue of Molino's works in Mario Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino - Vita e Opere*, 2 vols (Savigliano: Rosa Sonora, 2014). i, 59-116.

⁷⁴⁹ Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26680 and LDS26698.

accompany the voice, this collection demonstrates that there was serious interest in the guitar.⁷⁵⁰

Of this published music, nearly two-thirds came from foreign publishers, and of these five-sixths were from Paris. Thus, more than half the printed music came from the French capital, among which some of the pieces are of an intermediate or advanced standard. From Carulli are copies of the first editions of his 'Etrennes aux graces' op.93 [1814] for guitar solo; 'L'utile et l'agréable, recueil' op.114 [1817] for guitar solo; 'Fantasie sur un air populaire Napolitain dit la Ricciolella' op.117 [1817] for guitar duet and the second volume of *Six petits duos nocturnes* op.128 [1819] also for guitar duet. There are second editions of his 'Divertissement' op.85 [1818] for guitar solo and *Les sons harmoniques* op.111 [1820] also for guitar solo.⁷⁵¹ Music by another Italian working in Paris, the now largely forgotten Luigi Castellacci, includes pieces for solo guitar dating from the early 1820s. According to Fétis this guitarist was well known in Paris at the time.⁷⁵² There are two volumes each of *Douze walzes* and *Soirées Françaises de contra-dances pour guitare* with dance instructions.⁷⁵³ For the less advanced player, there are *Les six premiers mois d'étude* op.25; 'Tyrolienne' op.35; 'Pot pourri' op.36, which requires an E major tuning; a volume of *Valses menuets et marches* op.38 and 'Le départ du Grenadier' op.40.⁷⁵⁴ One cannot say for certain whether these publications were bought in Paris or England, though none carry the labels of English importers as were sometimes added at the time.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵⁰ Jelma van Amersfoort, "The notes were not sweet till you sung them': French vocal music with guitar accompaniment , c.1800-1840', *Early Music*, 41:4 (2013), 605-19. Van Amersfoort shows that the guitar was largely used to accompany the voice in early nineteenth-century France, and suggests its use would have been similar in other European countries.

⁷⁵¹ Burton Constable Foundation LDS26698; LDS26680; LDS25354; LDS25358; LDS25081; LDS26698 and LDS26680. Dates are taken from Torta, *Catalogo*.

⁷⁵² François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelles des musiciens*, 8 vols (Brussels: Leroux i-iii, Meline iv-viii, 1835-44), iii (1836), 68.

⁷⁵³ Both are in: Burton Constable Foundation LDS26680.

⁷⁵⁴ All are in: Burton Constable Foundation LDS26698.

⁷⁵⁵ One Viennese piece in the collection has a label saying that it was imported by Boosey & Co. See Mauro Giuliani, *16 Oesterreichische Nazional Ländler* (Vienna: Artaria, 1811). Burton Constable Foundation, LDS25314.

Within the collection are four guitar tutor books,⁷⁵⁶ three of which date from before 1830. In view of the bias towards French publications it is curious that the only copy at the Hall of Carulli's famous *Méthode* is not a French edition, but rather a much-altered version published in London by Wheatstone. Others look used; there are pencil markings in Verini's *First Rudiments* (1826) and a piece of paper has been leafed into Sola's *Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* (1820) showing first-position notes. The fourth one does not have such markings and is a rare copy of an elementary book designed for self-instruction by Henry West from the 1840s. Unusually there is an instruction book for 'guitare-harp' by Levien.⁷⁵⁷

There is much handwritten music. One such volume consists entirely of guitar music⁷⁵⁸ and other handwritten pieces appear in volumes with other things. These books include some arpeggio exercises, but for the most part have pieces and extracts of pieces from published works. It has been possible to identify the sources of some of them. One such example is the extraordinarily popular tune of 'Non più mesta' from Rossini's opera *La Cenerentola*.⁷⁵⁹ It appears in a version for guitar and piano and was clearly copied exactly from the arrangement by Neuland. The few fingerings in the published guitar part have been carefully transcribed onto the manuscript, along with a probable copying error: an extra ledger line for a high E.⁷⁶⁰ It is curious that the original, which was published with

⁷⁵⁶ Ferdinando Carulli / Anon., *Carulli's Instructions for the Spanish Guitar*, (London: Wheatstone, [after 1816]), Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26698; Charles Michael Sola, *Sola's Instructions for the Spanish Guitar*, (London: Chappell, 1820), Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26698; Phillipe Verini, *First Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar*, (London: Cramer, 1826), Burton Constable Foundation, LDS25112; Henry West, *The Whole Art of Playing the Guitar*, (London: Tolkien, [1840s]) Burton Constable Foundation, LDS25515. An earlier edition of the Carulli is listed together with the Sola and the Verini in Stenstadvold *Bibliography* pp. 70, 180-181, 193.

⁷⁵⁷ Mordaunt Levien, *Méthode pour la guitare-harpe*, (Paris: The Author, n.d.). Burton Constable Foundation LDS26654.

⁷⁵⁸ Burton Constable Foundation LDS26648. Inside this is a Parisian label of 'Henry Papetier'.

⁷⁵⁹ Richard Long, 'Preface' in Luigi Castellacci, *Fantasie op 99*, ed. by Richard Long (Tampa: Tuscany, 1997), p. 3.

⁷⁶⁰ Gioachino Rossini, "Non più mesta" arranged as duet for guitar and piano, arr. by Wilhelm Neuland (London: Chappell, [1832]); 'Non più mesta', manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26627.

two separate parts for the two instruments, has been transcribed into a full score, (Figure 6:5); the result is a cumbersome nine pages of music which would be awkward for two performers to use at the same time, particularly if a third person might also be needed to turn the pages. The original layout, with separate guitar part (Figure 6:6) was much more performer-friendly, which begs the question of whether the manuscript was ever intended for performance.



Figure 6:5. 'Non più mesta', manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26627.

53
1

"NON PIU MESTA:"
being N^o 1, of a Series of Airs
Arranged as Duets
for the
GUITAR & PIANO FORTE,
and Dedicated to
MISS JENKINS,
BY
W. NEULAND.

Ent. Sta. Hall. *LONDON,* *Price 2/6.*
Printed & Sold by S. CHAPPELL, Music Seller to their Majesties, 50, New Bond Street.

GUITAR PART.
INTRODUZIONE.

Andante. *Guitar.* *p* *Cresc.* *sf* *1* *p* *Cresc.*

TE.M.A. *ALLEGRETTO.* *p* *sf* *ff*

4093

IMPORTED
AND SOLD
TO
BURKINGHOUGH
CALCUTTA

Figure 6.6. Rossini, 'Non più mesta' arranged as duet for guitar and piano, arr. by Wilhelm Neuland [1832].

Another item in the manuscript book similarly suggests that some of the written-out pieces may not have been chosen for playing. This is the theme from Fernando Sor's Introduction and Variations on 'Oh cara armonia' from Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute*

(Figure 6:7).⁷⁶¹ This piece is without doubt one of the finest Sor wrote, and remains in the concert repertoire today. The theme was the only section of the piece that was copied, neither the introduction nor any of the variations are there. It was clearly taken from an early edition published in England.⁷⁶² In that edition two quaver A's were omitted from the top line in bar eleven. They are also absent in this transcription. These missing notes would be very obvious to a player, and as no correction has been written in one again wonders whether this copy was ever used for performance.



Figure 6:7. 'Oh Cara Armonia from Mozart's *Il Flauto Magico*', manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26648.

⁷⁶¹ *O Cara Armonia* from Mozart's *il Flauto magico*, manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS26648.

⁷⁶² Fernando Sor, *The Favorite Air "Oh cara armonia" from Mozart's opera il Flauto magico* (London: Royal Harmonic Institution [1821]; repr. London: Tecla, 1982).

It is not clear who made the copies or why the music was copied in this way, though the high cost of printed music was surely a consideration.⁷⁶³ Most of the books reveal the work of more than one hand, and it seems they were not made from publications that the family already possessed. Some material could have been copied from the collections of friends,⁷⁶⁴ but another possibility is that the family subscribed to one of the so-called circulating libraries and that someone wrote out extracts that caught their interest. This theory is supported by the evidence of payments to libraries in the family's accounts. A payment was made in Paris on the 22 June 1849 for 1f 10s, and again on 28 June for the same sum for one week at the library. In the same year in October in England a sum was paid for books from the library,⁷⁶⁵ although there is no means of knowing if these entries referred to ordinary books or books of music. There were many libraries in both London and Paris in that period. Galignani's guide to Paris of 1841, written in English for English visitors, advised that there were many reading-rooms and circulating libraries in the city.⁷⁶⁶ Breckbill and Goebes describe the growth of music circulating libraries in the French capital as 'explosive' in the 1830s and 1840s and show an advertisement of the company Challiot from 1850 printed in both French and English.⁷⁶⁷ Clearly the numerous English visitors were regarded as good customers. In London many of the music publishers maintained libraries as extensions of their other activities.⁷⁶⁸ One such was Boosey & Co.

⁷⁶³ John Spencer Curwen, *Music at the Queen's Accession, a Paper Read before the Society of Arts, March 17th 1897*, (London: Curwen, 1897), p. 9. Curwen notes that the fall in the cost of printed music was a significant advance in the Victorian years and that handwritten copies had been common in 1837.

⁷⁶⁴ Jeanice Brooks has found evidence of how young women at this time often used manuscript books to collect music from friends; see Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91:4 (2010), 513-35, (p. 519).

⁷⁶⁵ DDCC/153/19/14d, Household and Travel Account Books 1849-53.

⁷⁶⁶ *Galignani's New Paris Guide* (Paris: Galignani, 1841), p. 19.

⁷⁶⁷ Anita Breckbill and Carole Goebes 'Music Circulating Libraries in France: an Overview and a Preliminary List', *Notes*, 63:4 (2007), 761-97, (pp. 771, 774).

⁷⁶⁸ For a description of libraries in Britain see Alec Hyatt King, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Britain', *Musical Times*, 119:1620 (1978), 134-35, 137-38. Both English and French libraries played a crucial role in the dissemination of music to amateurs in the nineteenth century.

who placed an advertisement for their library in the 1852 *Royal Blue Book* court guide. They claimed to have a catalogue of 9000 items, and offered different rates for country subscribers who might want a 'large quantity of Music at a time'.⁷⁶⁹

Another manuscript in the collection sheds further light on the use of the guitar. There is a piece for piano solo by the Italian Francesco Molino (1768-1847), who settled in Paris in 1819,⁷⁷⁰ which carries a dedication 'à Miladj Marianne Clifford'.⁷⁷¹ Molino dedicated some violin pieces to Sir Clifford, *Deux sonates avec accompagnement pour violon seul*, which were published around 1840.⁷⁷² It seems highly probable that the composer knew the family; they could have met in Paris or when Molino visited England in 1835.⁷⁷³ He performed at Slindon House, the home of the Countess of Newburg, in Sussex. The Constables knew the Countess; she was listed as a visitor at the Hall in their list of guests for 1842 and they also could have been among her guests.⁷⁷⁴ Molino was no doubt aiming to please, while hoping for some financial gift, with these dedications and would probably write for instruments that he knew the dedicatee could play. Sir Clifford was at the least a competent violinist and so would have been pleased with his dedication. What is interesting is that Molino, as a violinist and guitarist, chose to dedicate a piano piece to Marianne. This is all the more surprising when one considers that he wrote few pieces that included this instrument and no other solo ones are known.⁷⁷⁵ Marianne was a good pianist, but had Molino thought she was a competent guitarist he might have preferred to

⁷⁶⁹ *Royal Blue Book, Fashionable Directory, and Parliamentary Guide* (London: B. W. Gardiner, 1852), opposite p. 303.

⁷⁷⁰ Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino*, p. 23.

⁷⁷¹ Francesco Molino, *Rondo précédé d'une introduction*, manuscript, Burton Constable Foundation, LDS 26362.

⁷⁷² Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino*, p. 82.

⁷⁷³ For a report of the visit see 'The Landgravine of Hesse Homburg', *Morning Post*, 24 November 1835.

⁷⁷⁴ Book-list of Guests 1842-44, DDCC/150/93, entry for 28 May 1842.

⁷⁷⁵ No solo piano works are listed in the catalogue of Molino's works in: Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino*.

dedicate a guitar piece to her. This he did not do, which may suggest that Marianne was not an advanced guitar player.

A final piece of evidence supporting the theory that Eliza was the main guitar enthusiast is provided by a set of pieces which, surprisingly, is not to be found at the Hall. This is the collection of *Four Italian songs* with guitar accompaniments by Catharina Pratten (Figure 6:8).⁷⁷⁶ They date from around 1853 at which time Pratten was well established in the London music world. As was often the case in the mid nineteenth century, she dedicated her pieces to people of standing, often ladies of the realm. On this occasion, however, she chose Eliza, foregoing the prestige that would have been associated with a titled dedicatee had she chosen Marianne. It is therefore probable that the sister playing the guitar in the 1841 picture of the library is Eliza.

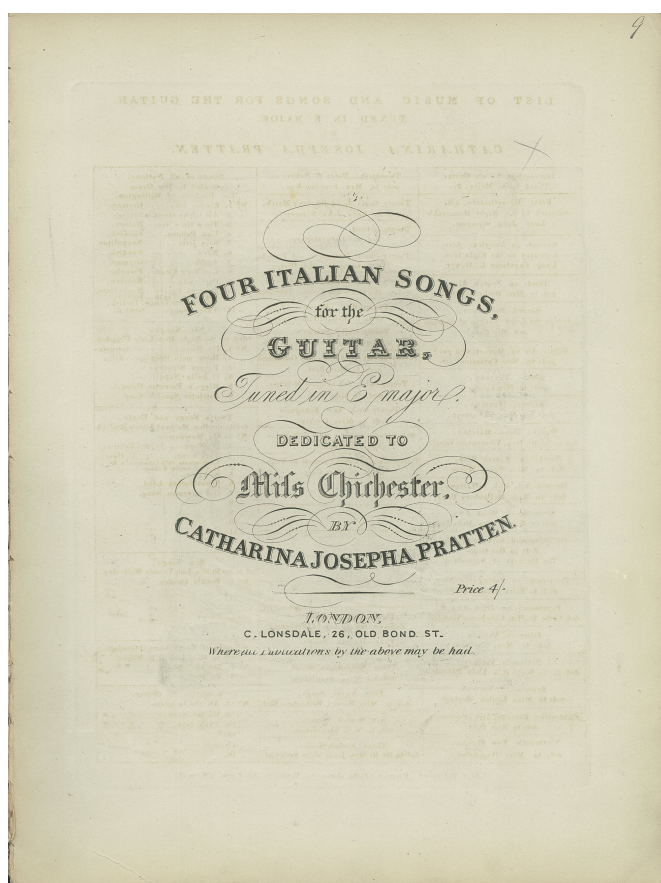


Figure 6:8. Catharina Pratten, *Four Italian Songs* [1853], title page.

⁷⁷⁶ Catharina Pratten, *Four Italian Songs* (London: Lonsdale, [1853]).

6.4. Conclusion

A contemporary journalist described with great accuracy the place of the guitar in 1830: 'the guitar is found in every lady's boudoir, and the piano-forte is an appropriate piece of furniture in every parlour and drawing-room'.⁷⁷⁷ The writer could almost have been writing about the family at Burton Constable Hall, save for the fact that for them the piano-forte was not just a large piece of furniture. They and their many friends enjoyed a high standard of music-making which must have featured regularly in their busy lives in the same way as it did in other Yorkshire country houses (as recently demonstrated by Troughton).⁷⁷⁸ However, at the Hall the guitar was used significantly more than in those other places. Evidence suggests that its place was with Eliza and to a lesser extent her sister. Using it in their quieter moments, they clearly had much interest in the instrument. Although they may not themselves have been advanced players, there can be no doubt that it was much valued in the private world of this family. The present investigation offers one example of how amateur playing, especially among women, continued through the century, linking the period of great popularity with virtuoso performers in the 1830s, to its revival in the 1880s, when the ladies' bands put it back in the concert hall.

⁷⁷⁷ 'The History of Music', *The Ladies' Museum*, January 1830, pp. 10-20, (p.10).

⁷⁷⁸ Troughton, *Role of Music*.

Chapter Seven

Case Study

Augusta Hervey: Lady of ‘The Ladies’ Guitar and Mandoline Band’⁷⁷⁹

At the end of the Victorian era there were a number of amateur women’s ensembles in England. One of the early ones comprised a group of aristocratic women and was called ‘The Ladies’ Guitar and Mandoline Band’. Augusta Hervey was one of the main instigators of the ensemble and played with it throughout its existence. This group, and others like it, were largely overlooked by historians until Paul Sparks researched it in 2012 and revealed some of its intriguing activities.⁷⁸⁰ The music making of these women demonstrates that many amateurs were playing the guitar in the 1880s and 1890s and thus provides evidence that the instrument was played in these decades. The band was, however, only part of Augusta’s long career.

7.1. Early Life

Augusta Hervey was from an aristocratic English family. She was the granddaughter of the fifth Earl and first Marquess of Bristol whose country residence was Ickworth House in Suffolk. Her parents were Lord William Hervey (1805-1850), the third son of the Marquess and Cecilia (1809-1871), née Fremantle.⁷⁸¹ Little is known about Augusta’s education; it is unlikely that she went to school and was most probably educated by her mother and governesses at home. She was a pianist and would certainly have had informal piano lessons when very young from her mother or her maternal grandmother, Betsy Fremantle. Betsy’s diaries, which have nearly all survived, give fascinating insights

⁷⁷⁹ The material of this chapter has been submitted in another form for publication. See Sarah Clarke, ‘Augusta Hervey: Lady of ‘The Ladies’ Guitar and Mandoline Band’’, in *The Routledge Companion to Women and Musical Leadership: The Nineteenth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Laura Hamer and Julia Minors, (New York: Routledge, Forthcoming).

⁷⁸⁰ Sparks, ‘A Considerable Attraction’.

⁷⁸¹ See above Chapter 6, Section 6.2., footnote 717. For the Hervey family tree see Michael De-la-Noy, *The House of Hervey* (London: Constable, 2001). p. vii.

into her life and show that for her music was important. It can safely be assumed that she was an accomplished keyboard player.⁷⁸² The diaries also make it clear later on how very important her grandchildren were to her. After the premature death in 1850 of Lord William Hervey Betsy spent most of the subsequent five years with her daughter Cecilia and Cecilia's three small children and older step-daughter. Music would have been part of their everyday lives and Augusta would have been much influenced by her grandmother. On 4 May 1851 Betsy wrote about her granddaughter: 'This was little Gussey's birth day, just 5, she has learnt several tunes on the piano and plays them very nicely. I gave her a locket with my hair and the dear child was [...] highly delighted with all her little presents'.⁷⁸³ When she was older this tuition was supplemented with lessons from private music masters rather than at an institution such as the Royal Academy of Music.⁷⁸⁴ It is known that she studied with Jacob Blumenthal in the 1870s; she wrote in a diary on 2 May 1878 that she had 'worked hard with Blumenthal'.⁷⁸⁵

As was usual for young women of her class, Augusta was presented at court as a debutante to the Princess of Wales, deputising for Queen Victoria, at Saint James's Palace on 16 May 1863. Some two thousand of the nobility and gentry attended and among the five hundred debutantes was another member of the Hervey family, Lady Mary

⁷⁸² Betsy's diaries spanned 1789 - 1857. An edited version covering the years 1789 - 1820 was published in three volumes in the 1930s. A planned fourth volume was not published. See Fremantle, *The Wynne Diaries*. Elaine Chalus noted that Betsy and her sister Eugenia were competent artists and skilled musicians. See Chalus, E. H. 'Fremantle [née Wynne], Elizabeth [Betsy], Lady Fremantle (1778-1857), diarist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 4 October 2007. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-92613>> [accessed 29 March 2017].

⁷⁸³ Aylesbury, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Lady Elizabeth (Betsy) Fremantle, Journals, D/FR/D/6/39, entry for 4 May 1851. 'Gussey' was Augusta's family name.

⁷⁸⁴ I am grateful to Adam Taylor of the Royal Academy of Music library for confirming that Augusta did not attend the Academy. (Personal communication 6 February 2019).

⁷⁸⁵ Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, Hervey Family Archives, Literary MSS. and other papers, 941/62/8, Diary of Augusta Hervey, entry for 2 May 1878. A review of a concert in which she performed noted that she was a pupil of Blumenthal. See 'Uswestry, Lady Harlech's Concerts', *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 7 November 1884. Blumenthal was a German composer and pianist who had settled in England in 1848. See James Brown, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (London: Alexander Gardner, 1886), p. 101. It is not known who taught Augusta the guitar.

Hervey (1845-1928), who was Augusta's first cousin.⁷⁸⁶ Their close friendship as teenagers was confirmed in a little document held in the Suffolk Record Office that they both signed in 1859 in which they asked to be considered as sisters;⁷⁸⁷ as adults they shared much music together.



Left: Figure 7:1 Miss Augusta Hervey.
Right: Figure 7:2 Lady Mary Hervey.

The first newspaper report so far found of Augusta playing the piano in public was in May 1876.⁷⁸⁸ The writer noted that the efforts of amateur performers such as Augusta

⁷⁸⁶ 'Last Saturday's Presentations at St James's Palace to HRH The Princess of Wales', *Court Journal*, Supplement to 23 May 1863, p. 2. Lady Mary was the daughter of Lord William Hervey's eldest brother, the second Marquess of Bristol.

⁷⁸⁷ Hervey Family Archives, Miscellaneous papers, 941/62/11.

⁷⁸⁸ 'Trained Nurses' Annuity Fund', *London Evening Standard*, 13 May 1876.

were exempt from criticism but nevertheless praised her ability as did other reports that followed.⁷⁸⁹ A later performance in particular indicates what an accomplished player she must have been. In 1880 a charity concert was organised by her contemporary and friend, Lady Folkestone (1846-1928).⁷⁹⁰ It took place in Saint James's Hall with amateur performers who included Henry Leslie's choir as well as Augusta and there can be no doubt that only skilled players would have taken part. The highlight of this event was a performance in the middle of the evening of Romberg's *Toy Symphony* for which Lady Folkestone enlisted the help of several leading musicians of the day; in particular, Arthur Chappell played the woodpecker; Joseph Barnby the nightingale; Charles Hallé the quail; and Arthur Sullivan the cuckoo.⁷⁹¹ Royalty were among the audience and the *Daily Telegraph* noted how 'Saint James's Hall burst into smiles; the smiles soon became laughter, the laughter ended in applause'.⁷⁹²

7.2. The Band

In addition to the piano Augusta played and performed in public on the guitar. In 1884 she used it to accompany three Neapolitan songs performed by Lady Folkestone at a concert in Machynneth town hall organised by the Marchioness of Londonderry, presumably for

⁷⁸⁹ Twentieth century research suggests that good amateurs, as distinct from 'dabblers', can be better than some professionals. See Robert Stebbins, *Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p. 38. If similar research for Augusta's period were to be undertaken it is likely that the findings would be similar.

⁷⁹⁰ Born Helen Matilda Chaplin in 1846, she married William Pleydell-Bouverie in 1866, who succeeded to the title of Lord Folkestone in 1869, and the title of Lord Radnor in 1889. For simplicity Helen Matilda will be referred to as Lady Folkestone here. She was an accomplished amateur musician.

⁷⁹¹ The event was described in Lady Folkestone's autobiography. See Helen Pleydell-Bouverie, Countess of Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair* (London: Marshall Press, 1927), pp. 108-110. Augusta was listed the previous day among the performers. See 'Advertisements', *The Times*, 13 May 1880.

⁷⁹² 'St James's Hall', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 1880.

charity⁷⁹³ The titles were listed in a review and two of them, 'Fuor di Parigi' and 'Tiri Tomba', were probably arrangements by Catharina Pratten.⁷⁹⁴ However, it was the guitar band that Augusta founded with her cousin, Lady Mary, in approximately 1885 that is of particular interest to historians of the guitar. Sparks has well described the inspirations that must have led to the forming of this group.⁷⁹⁵ The first was a 'Viennese Lady Orchestra', conducted by Madame Schipek, which was performed at the Albert Palace in Battersea in 1885.⁷⁹⁶ The second influence also came from abroad and was a troupe of so-called Spanish students. Several such groups visited London in this period but the one that had impact on this occasion was probably the *Granados*, a group of guitar and mandolin players, who played at the Alhambra Music Hall.⁷⁹⁷

It is interesting to consider how a group of aristocratic women who were undoubtedly bound by the class conventions of the day could have been so influenced by these ensembles. Women were certainly enjoying much greater freedom than they had in earlier times but for the Herveys and their circle careers as professional musicians remained out of the question. In contrast the Viennese women were professional and, although respectable, would have been from musician families of a so-called lower middle artisan class as defined by Margaret Myers.⁷⁹⁸ In an interview their conductor, Madame Schipek, even mentioned exactly how much her leading players received with the others getting less.⁷⁹⁹ Likewise the Spanish students were professional players in their

⁷⁹³ 'Macuynlleth, The Marchioness of Londonderry's Evening Concert', *Montgomeryshire Express*, 4 November 1884. Lady Folkestone and Augusta performed in several concerts together, Augusta usually played the piano.

⁷⁹⁴ Catharina Pratten, *Songs of All Nations 5 Tiri Tomba* (London: Lonsdale n.d.); Catharina Pratten, *Songs of All Nations 10 Neapolitan Air* (London: Lonsdale, n.d.).

⁷⁹⁵ Sparks, 'A Considerable Attraction', p. 36.

⁷⁹⁶ Pleydell-Bouverie, 'A Great-Grandmother's Armchair', p. 111.

⁷⁹⁷ 'Alhambra Theatre', *The Globe*, 17 March 1886.

⁷⁹⁸ Margaret Myers, 'Searching for Data about European Ladies' Orchestras, 1870-1950.' in *Music and Gender*, ed. by Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 189-213, (p. 190).

⁷⁹⁹ 'An Orchestra of Women', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 October 1885.

performances as the *Granados* at the Alhambra where they played to urban working and lower middle class audiences⁸⁰⁰ in a venue that would have had a question mark over its respectability.

As Philip Rudd has put it in his thesis about Lady Folkestone, the crucial difference for the aristocratic women was the function of music; for them music was not a livelihood but an entertainment to be enjoyed on a firmly amateur basis.⁸⁰¹ Nevertheless, it was a big step forward for these lady amateurs to take their music in large ensembles out of their homes into public spaces, which was such a contrast to the music making of Augusta's grandmother, Betsy, who performed at private occasions.⁸⁰² The person who helped make these public performances acceptable was Lady Folkestone. She was without doubt a pioneer as, not only was she the first woman to regularly conduct a British orchestra in public,⁸⁰³ but the activities of amateurs like her were a crucial prelude for the performances of the professional women's groups in Britain that followed.⁸⁰⁴ With characteristic panache she founded an amateur Ladies' String Band which gave its first performance with a Ladies' Choir in 1882.⁸⁰⁵ Such was the ostentation of the occasion

⁸⁰⁰ Dagmar Höher, 'The Composition of Music Hall Audiences, 1850-1900' in *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, ed. by Peter Bailey (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), pp. 73-92 (p. 75).

⁸⁰¹ Philip Rudd, 'Countess, Conductor, Pioneer: Lady Radnor and the Phenomenon of the Victorian Ladies' Orchestra' (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 2017), p. 118.

⁸⁰² Betsy recorded in her diary her dismay when she discovered in 1798 that her cousin, Augusta Correr who used the stage name Angelleli, had become a professional musician. She wrote on 22 January: 'Mde Angelleli made her first appearance, to my no small surprise and vexation' and on 27 January wrote: 'I would give my world that she had not chosen London to expose herself'. See Fremantle, *The Wynne Diaries*, ii, 200-201.

⁸⁰³ Rudd, 'Countess', p. 155.

⁸⁰⁴ Derek Scott has noted that the first British ladies' orchestras were amateur. See Scott, *Sounds*, p. 22.

⁸⁰⁵ A newspaper report confirmed the year. See 'Royal College of Music', *The Times*, 3 July 1882. Lady Folkestone gave the incorrect year of 1881 in her autobiography. See Pleydell-Bouverie, *A Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p. 111.

that the acceptability of an ensemble of aristocratic women could not be questioned.⁸⁰⁶ She herself conducted: the band had twenty-eight players of whom seven ladies had titles and, in addition, there was a choir of thirty-one singers which included six countesses.⁸⁰⁷ The venue chosen for their first performance was one of the greatest mansions in London, Stafford House. The room they performed in was the magnificent picture gallery which stretches the full length of the east side of the building (Figures 7:3 and 7:4). Royalty were present. The occasion was a glittering one in more ways than one; it was reported that many of the performers wore 'masses of diamonds'⁸⁰⁸ and, in addition, this was the first occasion on which the Duke of Sutherland used electric light in the gallery.⁸⁰⁹



Figure 7:3. Lancaster House (formerly Stafford House).

⁸⁰⁶ Paula Gillett has noted how Lady Folkestone's activities 'contributed significantly to a climate of greater acceptance of public performance by respectable - and even married - women'. See Gillett 'Entrepreneurial Women' p. 211.

⁸⁰⁷ 'Viscountess Folkestone's Concert', *Bristol Mercury*, 8 July 1882.

⁸⁰⁸ 'Concerts', *The World*, 5 July 1882.

⁸⁰⁹ Pleydell-Bouverie, *A Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, p. 111. Stafford House was renamed Lancaster House in the early twentieth century, this remains its name today.



Figure 7:4. The Picture Gallery, Lancaster House (formerly Stafford House).

Following this lead Augusta and Lady Mary started their band in around 1885 and it continued to perform until at least 1900. There have been some challenges in researching this ensemble. One difficulty came from the lack of visibility of the group in twentieth-century literature. There were several reasons for this. As Philip Rudd has noted, the significance of both amateurs and so-called popular music, of which the band's repertoire consisted, have suffered neglect from musicologists until recently.⁸¹⁰ In addition, as Margaret Myers described in her research into women's orchestras, a similar lack of interest and devaluation has been applied to women instrumentalists.⁸¹¹ These ensembles could be marginalised and viewed merely as yet another woman's accomplishment as illustrated in a cartoon by Cyril Hallward in the women's newspaper *Hearth and Home*. Bemoaning the way that some girls were 'not wilfully musical' he illustrated their supposedly unfortunate efforts on various instruments and included a guitar and mandolin quartet at the bottom with the caption: 'Then there are fearsome Societies into which musical girls form themselves for purposes of charity extorting money by the practice of unspeakable tortures on the ear and nerves of the benevolent' (Figure 7:5).

⁸¹⁰ Rudd, 'Countess', p. 2.

⁸¹¹ Myers, 'Searching for Data', p. 205.

Figure 7.5. Cyril Hallward, 'The Musical Girl'.⁸¹²⁸¹² Cyril Hallward, 'The Musical Girl', *Hearth and Home*, 8 August 1895, p. 445.

Guitar researchers in particular have missed many of the activities of guitar and mandolin groups like this because little mention is made of them in the instrument specific periodicals of the time. The first of these periodicals was the *Banjo World* of 1893 produced by Essex and Cammeyer, a company run by two banjo players, both men.⁸¹³ As one would expect their periodical showed significantly more interest in groups that included their instrument. A correspondent complained in 1898 that the guitar and mandolin were being neglected by the journal to which the editor robustly retorted that the fault lay with the players of those instruments for not sending in material.⁸¹⁴ The editor at that time was almost certainly another male banjo player, Home Gordon.⁸¹⁵

A further difficulty has come with the problem of identifying the band. From the late 1880s and into the 1890s several similar groups existed and when newspaper reports mention 'The Ladies' Guitar and Mandoline Band' one cannot be certain to whom they are referring. In addition, the few references to the Hervey group that have been found which list the players make it clear that membership was flexible and must have been adjusted according to who was available and what was required. A report in 1892 in *The Queen* newspaper noted that there were then between thirty and forty members 'on the books'⁸¹⁶ and this membership no doubt changed over time. To add to the confusion it is also possible that some of the players played in more than one group as Augusta herself did; she led the 'Phoenix Green Amateur Mandoline and Guitar Ladies' Band' in 1900.⁸¹⁷

Nevertheless, it has been possible to piece together some details of the band's activities. Its early years were described in *The Queen* newspaper; founded by Miss

⁸¹³ The firm Essex and Cammeyer was established by the two banjo players Clifford Essex and Alfred Cammeyer in 1892 at 59 Piccadilly where they had a banjo studio. See Richard Ineson and Anthony Peabody, *A Short Biography of the Unique Joe Morley* (Fakenham: Clifford Essex Music Company, 2017), pp. 6-7.

⁸¹⁴ 'Notes and Comments', *Banjo World*, August 1898, p. 117.

⁸¹⁵ The editor was not named in 1898. It was stated in 1900 that Home Gordon had been editor for many years. See 'Notes and Comments', *Banjo World*, December 1900, p. 18.

⁸¹⁶ 'Ladies' Bands', *The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper*, 19 March 1892, p. 464.

⁸¹⁷ 'Hartley Wintney', *Hants and Berks Gazette and Middlesex and Surrey Journal*, 28 April 1900.

Augusta Hervey, 'the well known pianist' and her cousin, the group started in a small way rehearsing at Lady Mary's London house in St James's Square. By 1892 it was being run by a committee with Maud Sullivan as secretary, and rehearsals were held at her residence in Grosvenor Square. Initially only guitarists were included and Catharina Pratten conducted.⁸¹⁸ Some of the women were inspired to take up the mandolin after hearing the Spanish students and added the instrument to the band at which point Pratten stepped aside and leadership passed to various of the leading mandolin players in London at the time, all men who supposedly came from Italy or Spain. Each conductor made a mark on the band's repertoire. Their early pieces would have included arrangements by Pratten which she also published and they reflected a clear interest in music relating to Mediterranean countries. They included *Bolero*; *Addio a Napoli*; *Il Gondolira* and *Zapateado* (Figure 7:6).

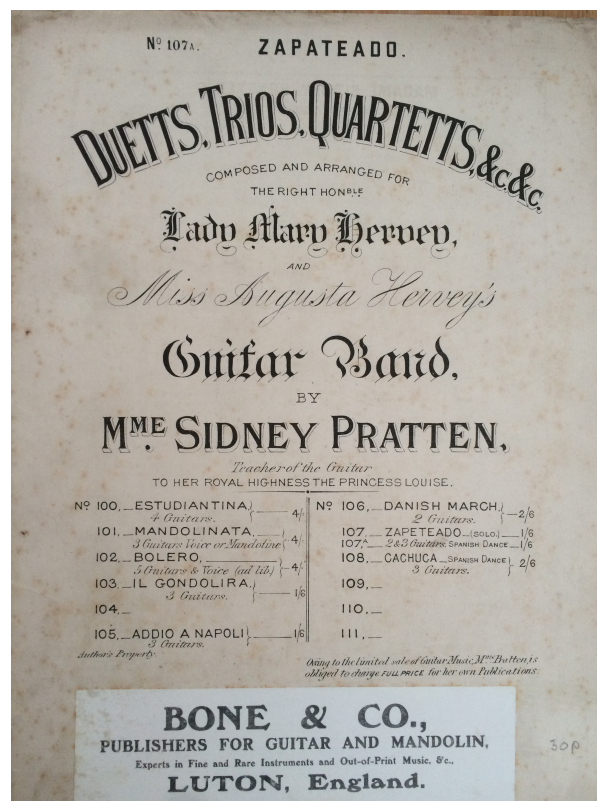


Figure 7:6. Catharina Pratten *Zapateado* (London: The Author, n.d.), front cover.

⁸¹⁸ 'Ladies' Bands', *The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper*, 19 March 1892, p. 464.

Surviving copies of other pieces have not been found although reviews suggest that they were well written and suited to the medium. Cristofaro, the famous Italian mandolinist who briefly conducted the group before his early death in 1890, wrote a 'Serenade for solo voice and chorus with accompaniment of mandolins and guitars' which was probably performed when he conducted the group in the Steinway Hall in 1889.⁸¹⁹ Philip Bone described the work as both original, novel and 'exceedingly effective' noting, in 1914, that the autograph manuscript was kept by the band.⁸²⁰ Zerega, an American who posed as a Spaniard, was with the group for about four years and added a *Potpourri Espagnol* to their repertoire.⁸²¹ Francia conducted the group from 1895 until 1898 and in his last year the band took part in a concert playing 'with delightful verve, steady time, and beautiful gradations of light and shade'. The highlight was a performance of Francia's own *Characteristic Fantasia* during which a mandolin duet was played by Lady Clayton and Miss Slade followed by a coda which the band attacked 'with a vivacity which was rewarded by prolonged applause'.⁸²²

It has been possible with reasonable certainty to identify from the players named many occasions when the Hervey band performed. It usually took part in charity events which

⁸¹⁹ 'Signor Di Cristofaro's Annual Morning Concert', *Le Follet*, 1 August 1889, p. 200.

⁸²⁰ Bone, *Guitar and Mandolin*, p. 81.

⁸²¹ This was performed on 18 December 1893, the first concert found at which Guerra conducted. See 'Morning Concert at the Pavilion', *Brighton Gazette*, 21 December 1893. The first concert found at which Zerega conducted was on 3 March 1891 and the last found was on 12 July 1893. See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 25 February 1891; 'At the Prince of Wales's Club', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 July 1893. Zerega's real name was Edgar E. Hill and he was from Columbus, Indiana. See 'Zerega and Hill are One', *New York Journal*, 28 September 1896.

⁸²² 'Signor Francia's Mandoline Recital', *Banjo World*, April 1898, p. 58. Francia's first appearance found was on 21 May 1895 and his last found was on 12 May 1898. See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 13 May 1895; 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 18 April 1898.

were in keeping with women's well established philanthropic activities;⁸²³ most were concerts and there were a few occasions when the band provided incidental music at bazaars or sales. Two events have been found that took place at the houses of members of the group. In May 1890 the band played during a National Silk Exhibition at number seven, St James's Square, the London residence of Lord Egerton and next door to the Hervey household. His daughter, Lady Beatrice Egerton, was a member of the group.⁸²⁴ On another occasion, in 1897, they played during a sale of the Working Ladies' Guild at number one, Belgrave Square, the London home of Reuben Sassoon who was a close confidant of the Prince of Wales.⁸²⁵ His two daughters, Rachel and Flora, were in the band.⁸²⁶

The question remains as to whether Augusta's activities were those traditionally expected of women or whether she was, like many women of her time, exploring newfound freedoms. Two pieces of her writing may indicate whether she believed marriage and motherhood remained the true vocation of women. The first is a manuscript of a story in three short sections which may have been intended for serialisation in a journal. In it the heroine, Cynthia, a talented amateur pianist, fails to take up an opportunity of studying music in Leipzig, the place to which many music students aspired at that time, and instead accepts a woman's supposed true vocation and marries the

⁸²³ The band performed at three of the conductor's own concerts, those by Cristofaro, Zerega, and Francia. It is not clear whether these events were technically for charity. Nevertheless, the amateur status of the band was never in question. For Cristofaro's concert see 'Signor Di Cristofaro's Annual Morning Concert', *Le Follet*, 1 August 1889, p. 200. For Zerega's concert see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 25 February 1891. For Francia's concert see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 13 May 1895. Paula Gillett has noted that participation in charitable music events enabled some women to enjoy greater freedom without encroaching on a man's world. See Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 34.

⁸²⁴ 'Arrangements for the Day', *Morning Post*, 14 May 1890. A report of Lady Beatrice's wedding gifts, which included a diamond brooch from members of the band, confirmed her membership. See 'The Coming Marriage of Mr. Kemp, M.P. and Lady Beatrice Egerton', *Heywood's Advertiser*, 31 July 1896.

⁸²⁵ Cecil Roth, 'The Court Jews of Edwardian England', *Jewish Social Studies*, 5 (1943), pp. 355-66 (p. 361).

⁸²⁶ 'The Grand Concert', *South Bucks Standard*, 15 July 1892.

Baron after performing the solo part of his concerto in a concert in Prince's Hall.⁸²⁷ The second has a similar theme and is a short story in which the heroine, Gladys, fails to secure any professional singing engagement in London and returns home to Wales for an apparently more appropriate engagement to a young man.⁸²⁸ It is uncertain if Augusta's work reflected her own beliefs. It may be that she regarded the stories of Cynthia and Gladys in the same light as another novel published in 1894 and which she dismissed in a letter as a 'shilling dreadful about to adorn the railway bookstalls'.⁸²⁹

Whatever the case the reality was that when Augusta's band started she was aged thirty nine and hope of the ideal of marriage would have been receding by then; she never did marry. In the absence of marriage she put her energy into the ensemble with musical performances occupying much of her time; however all the indications are that with these she continued to maintain an accepted amateur role never crossing the line to become professional. It is even noticeable that members of her band largely adhered to established gender roles accepting their weaker selves by employing male professional musicians to conduct after Pratten's departure. Although Augusta did conduct twice, in 1891 and 1899, and Maud Sullivan 'led' the band in 1892, these were almost certainly stopgap arrangements as noted by a commentator describing the event of 1891.⁸³⁰ This was in contrast to Lady Folkestone who always conducted her Ladies' Band herself.

Remaining as an amateur had two sides to it. On the one hand Augusta would not have been sharpening her skills in response to the criticism that was usually levelled at

⁸²⁷ Hervey Family Archives, Literary MSS. and other papers, 941/62/8.

⁸²⁸ Augusta Hervey, 'Getting an Engagement', *Good Words*, December 1905, pp. 65-70.

⁸²⁹ Augusta Hervey, *The Last Day of Her Life* (London: Skeffington & Sons, 1894). Augusta referred to the book in a letter to the father of a pupil, Mr Arkwright. See Hereford, Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre, Hampton Court Estate, Letters from Augusta Hervey, A63/IV/21/12. Letter to Mr Arkwright dated 15 February [1894].

⁸³⁰ Augusta conducted in 1891. See 'Ladies' Bands'. She also conducted in 1899. See 'Arrangements for this Day', *Morning Post*, 6 May 1899. Maud led in 1892. See 'The Grand Concert', *South Bucks Standard*, 15 July 1892.

professionals.⁸³¹ On the other hand, as Sterndale Bennett reportedly pointed out, she would not have been a servant of a public that sought surprise as well as enjoyment but instead she could play as she wished and thought best.⁸³²

7.3. Teaching and Publishing

Performing on piano and guitar were not the only musical activities Augusta undertook. She published a few pieces of music and in addition gave piano lessons, advertising these for 'a limited number of pupils' with terms of ten shillings and sixpence for one hour in the 1880s.⁸³³ In the 1911 census she listed her occupation as music teacher. With these activities it could be construed that she was professional although this would depend on a definition of 'professional'; something contemporaries themselves struggled to define. In 1896 the question was raised in the journal *The Troubadour* and various suggestions were offered. However, the only consensus reached by the correspondents was that defining the term was difficult. Mr J. E. Newell called for some regulation in the profession to guard the public from 'quacks' and 'charlatans', a sentiment shared by many musicians at the time. Maude Evans, a singer and mandolin player, considered that someone was professional if they devoted their whole life to music to the exclusion of all other occupations. Charles Thomas brought the issue of money into the discussion suggesting that anyone who was paid a proper fee, as opposed to a nominal sum or expenses, was a

⁸³¹ For a discussion of this see Nancy Reich, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class' in *Musicology and Difference*, ed. by Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 125-46 (p. 126).

⁸³² Bettina Walker, *My Musical Experiences* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1892), p. 21.

⁸³³ Advertisements were placed in the *Morning Post* between 29 April 1887 and 4 May 1887.

professional.⁸³⁴ Fred Hawes agreed and noted that the fee was the key to the issue and a professional musician could work some of the time in other occupations provided his musical activities attracted a professional fee.⁸³⁵ Earlier, Henry Fisher, in Blackpool, published a book *The Musical Profession* in 1888 and had extended the definition further by suggesting that to be professional a musician must depend on his or her fees for his or her livelihood.⁸³⁶ This view was echoed by another writer in 1896 who commented: ‘a professional performs for his living and expects remuneration on every occasion. By some peculiar freak of nature it is ordained that he requires bodily nourishment like other men, hence his inability to work for nothing’.⁸³⁷

Without a clear definition it is difficult to conclude whether Augusta was professional in some of her activities. She did not devote all her working time to music. However, her ten shilling and sixpence fee for piano lessons was the same as the average charge for piano lessons at the Guildhall School of Music in the same period; according to the School’s prospectuses the mid-point of the fees was two guineas for twelve twenty minute lessons, or three guineas for twelve half hour lessons. These figures were the equivalent of Augusta’s ten shillings and sixpence per hour which could therefore be regarded as a

⁸³⁴ See ‘Troubadours’ Table Talk, What is a Professional Musician?, *Troubadour*, October 1896, pp. 200-201. All the contributors would have seen themselves as professional. J. E. Newell was an organist who also published music for mandolin and guitar. See Brown and Stratton *British Musical Biography*, pp. 295-96. Maude Evans was a contralto singer and played mandolin and banjo. See ‘Miss Maude Evans’, *Gentleman’s Journal and Gentlewoman’s Court Review*, 16 March 1896, p. 1371. Charles Thomas was a banjo player. See ‘Biographical Sketches, Mr Charles Thomas’, *Troubadour*, January 1897, p. 249.

⁸³⁵ ‘Correspondence, What is a Professional Musician?’, *Troubadour*, December 1896, p. 240. Fred Hawes was a banjo player who performed with the Black Crow Minstrels. See ‘Metropolitan Notes’, *Troubadour*, March 1898, p. 38.

⁸³⁶ Henry Fisher, *The Musical Profession* (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1888), p. 119. Fisher was an organist and teacher in Blackpool. See Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 121.

⁸³⁷ ‘Amateur, Pro-amateur and Professional’, *Troubadour*, June 1896, p. 199. These issues continue to be debated today. See Rosemary Golding, ‘Introduction’, in *The Music Profession in Britain 1780-1920*, ed. by Rosemary Golding (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1-11 (pp. 1-3). For a description of the founding of associations for musicians such as the Incorporated Society of Musicians see Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp. 126-41.

professional fee.⁸³⁸ The question of whether she needed the money is a difficult one to answer without full knowledge of her income and without establishing what constituted need. She inherited from her mother, who died in 1871, an annual income of two hundred and sixty pounds.⁸³⁹ Housekeeping accounts in Mrs Beeton's *Every Day Cookery* of the 1890s suggest that an annual income of two hundred pounds would not include any servants and an income of three hundred pounds would include only one.⁸⁴⁰ For someone of Augusta's class domestic staff would have been seen as essential in which case the inheritance from her mother would have been insufficient, if that was all she had.

There are indications that she felt it necessary to earn money; in a letter of 1894 she mentions that she had moved house from Milner Terrace to Moore Street in Chelsea and describes her new residences as having 'various advantages of which economy is not the least!'⁸⁴¹ In addition, a letter in the archives from a friend in 1900 outlines which journals would pay her best for an article, suggesting that this issue was a concern.⁸⁴² Whatever her situation her addresses do establish that she was considerably less well-off than her cousin; the streets she lived in were described in 1902 as being ones that were passed through in order to get to the aristocratic part of Chelsea in neighbouring Lennox Gardens.⁸⁴³ In contrast was Lady Mary's London residence in fashionable Saint James's

⁸³⁸ Guildhall School of Music and Drama Archives, General Prospectuses, CLA/056/AD/02/001. The fees quoted in the late 1880s varied. For twelve twenty minute lessons they could be £1 10s; £2 2s; or £3 3s. For twelve half hour lessons they could be £2 4s; £3 3s or £4 14s 6d.

⁸³⁹ An undated document of Cecilia's gives this figure which comprised one hundred and sixty pounds interest on capital Cecilia had inherited. Cecilia would, in addition, leave an annuity of one hundred pounds for Augusta until she married. See Hervey Family Archive, Miscellaneous papers, 941/62/5.

⁸⁴⁰ *Beeton's Every-day Cookery and Housekeeping Book, Entirely New Edition* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., [1898(?)]), p. xxv.

⁸⁴¹ Letters from Augusta Hervey, A63/IV/21/12. Letter to Mr Arkwright dated 8 February [1894].

⁸⁴² Hervey Family Archives, Literary MSS., and other papers, 941/62/8. Letter from G. Stiegil. 12 December 1900.

⁸⁴³ G. E. Mitton, *Chelsea* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), p. 664.

Square, a house which the Hervey family had owned since it was first built in 1677⁸⁴⁴ and which in the 1851 census had had twenty-seven resident servants.⁸⁴⁵ Lady Mary would have been aware of her cousin's situation and, touchingly, in her will left Augusta a life annuity of two hundred pounds. In the event, though, Augusta died first and never benefitted from it.⁸⁴⁶

7.4. Augusta's Achievement

Regardless of whether her teaching was to be regarded as professional work most of Augusta's activities remained within traditional boundaries; teaching had long been seen as an acceptable occupation for women and the giving of public performances as an amateur for philanthropic purposes was seen as beyond reproach by even the most conservative of critics. As Gillett has noted, these performances by amateur women broke down the prejudice against women performing in public and subsequently 'altered patterns of professional recruitment'.⁸⁴⁷ In addition, the Ladies' Band was the first of its sort and many such groups followed in the 1890s, all of which featured guitars.⁸⁴⁸ In this sense Augusta was, like Lady Folkestone, a pioneer. Augusta's band was a model that others copied, and in so doing amateur guitarists flourished and took their music into public spaces.

⁸⁴⁴ Dasent, *St James's Square*, p. 209.

⁸⁴⁵ 1851 census, 6 St James's Square, St James, Public Record Office H.O. 107/1484. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1484_1485-0152> [accessed 8 September 2018]. The Marquess of Bristol was resident for this census. The family were absent for later censuses in the century when only a skeleton staff were listed. By 1911 Lady Mary had moved to 67, Brook St, Grosvenor Sq. This was in the fashionable West End of London. 1911 Census for 67 Brook St. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/2352/images/rg14_00424_0003_03> [accessed 8 September 2018].

⁸⁴⁶ Will of The Right Honourable Mary Katherine Isabella Hervey, Probate, London, 13 October 1928.

⁸⁴⁷ Gillett, *Musical Women*, p. 37.

⁸⁴⁸ Sparks notes that the Hervey Band was the original one and that there were many imitators. See Sparks, 'A Considerable Attraction', p. 43.

There is little doubt that the girl who was described as ‘very forward for her age’ at the age of eight by her grandmother⁸⁴⁹ grew to be an intelligent and articulate woman as evidenced by the invitations she received from Lady Waldegrave of Strawberry Hill in Twickenham in the 1860s and 1870s.⁸⁵⁰ Lady Waldegrave was renowned for her entertaining; invitations were highly valued and never given ‘on account of wealth or title’. Strawberry Hill was described as ‘the Mecca towards which the eyes of the ambitious turned [...] Around [Lady Waldegrave] crowded the men and women who were making the history of the time [...] women on account of their wit, or beauty or wisdom.’⁸⁵¹ As regards the band, Augusta’s writing shows how much straightforward enjoyment she took in making music with others. In the archives is her undated manuscript with the title ‘Amateur bands’. She wrote: ‘There is a joy in Concerted Music that is not found in mere solo playing. It is a delight to bear a part in producing the great [...] works that have roused echoes in every corner of the globe.’⁸⁵²

Together these two case studies illustrate some of the changes that took place in women’s lives in the Victorian years. The comparison has been all the more focussed because both Eliza and Augusta had similar aristocratic social backgrounds. It is to be hoped that further research will explore the musical lives of women from wider social circles.

⁸⁴⁹ Lady Elizabeth (Betsy) Fremantle, Journals, D/FR/D/6/40, entry for 4 May 1854.

⁸⁵⁰ For Augusta’s visits to Strawberry Hill see ‘Fashionable World’, *Morning Post*, 7 April 1866; ‘Fashionable World’, *Morning Post*, 21 July 1868; ‘Fashionable World’, *Morning Post*, 22 July 1874; ‘Fashionable World’, *Morning Post*, 25 July 1876. For her visit to Lady Waldegrave’s house at Carlton Gardens see ‘Fashionable World’, *Morning Post*, 24 February 1873. For her visit to Lady Waldegrave at Chewton Mendip see ‘Lord Carlingford and Frances Countess Waldegrave’, *London Evening Standard*, 24 October 1874.

⁸⁵¹ ‘Court and Club’, *The Graphic*, 5 February 1898.

⁸⁵² Hervey Family Archives, Literary MSS. and other papers, 941/62/8.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

The starting point for this thesis was the claim by the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1880 that the guitar was then in 'comparative oblivion'.⁸⁵³ Small indications were found early on in my work to doubt this statement. For example, the second enlarged edition of Eleanor Geary's short book about piano teaching published in 1851 included an additional section about the guitar indicating how suitable it was for women.⁸⁵⁴ It seems unlikely that she would have added the section if the number of guitar players had become insignificant. This is one small piece of evidence among a large amount of data that I have gathered showing that, although there were varying levels of enthusiasm for the guitar, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* statement was far from a fair assessment at any time in the Victorian years. Thus, Geary's little book was neither unique nor an obscure oddity. My work has become, in some ways, a continuation of Britton's whose work centred on the early years of the century but who noted, that, although the years from 1840 to 1880 could be described as 'wilderness' years, this was not so for the instrument in England where it remained a popular amateur instrument.⁸⁵⁵

Two areas of evidence are presented here to support this claim. The first is a survey of people who taught the guitar. With the inclusion of anonymous advertisers and governesses it has been shown that teaching of the instrument was extensive and that many teachers fitted this work into varied careers. The second collection of evidence is a catalogue, as near complete as possible, of English method books for the instrument. New books were published throughout the century with slightly fewer in the middle years. In addition, some that were first produced in the very early years continued to be available

⁸⁵³ Anon, 'Guitar' in *Encyclopædia* 9th edn, xi (1880), 267-68.

⁸⁵⁴ Geary, *Musical Education*, 2nd edn, pp. 75-81. Reference to the guitar was not included in the first edition, see Eleanor Geary *Musical Education; with Practical Observations on the Art of Piano-Forte Playing* (London: D'Almaine and Co., 1841).

⁸⁵⁵ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 344.

into the Edwardian years. These sources confirm that the guitar was enormously popular in the 1820s and 1830s, that this popularity began to wane after the arrival of the new monarch in 1837, but that interest was maintained in the middle of the century and even increased in the 1880s.

A more nuanced account of the guitar's fortunes in nineteenth-century England shows that the place of the guitar in society changed over time. The *Encyclopædia's* article about music demonstrated a focus on what, by 1880, had become recognised as 'high art' music as distinct from 'popular' music. However one defines these spheres it remains true that by then contemporaries were aware of this division which had not been so apparent in the earlier years. The guitar became aligned with popular culture, so that it was not so much in 'oblivion' as the *Encyclopædia* claimed, but rather less visible to those whose musical focus was on 'high art' music.

The evidence discovered during the preparation of this thesis led to further investigations about the amateurs who took lessons and used the method books. Questions were asked about their class and gender and what changes were observed with these over the Victorian period. In addition, the spaces that were used for performance were investigated and consideration was given to whether they were private or public.

The issue of class was of great importance to the Victorians. The costs of music lessons and music books at the beginning of the Victorian era indicated a wealthy clientele, although this clientele widened and expanded towards the end of the period. The teachers and method book authors were keen to promote an aristocratic image of their instrument, not only to attract people of this class but also the many who emulated their betters. The exclusivity of the image projected was made even more decisive by the several references to the piano in the method books showing that many writers assumed that their readers would own, or at least have access to, one. The instrument was an expensive luxury item in the first part of the period and remained considerably more expensive than the guitar throughout. It is also apparent in the earlier Victorian years, and

later to a lesser extent, that many players took up the guitar as a second instrument after the piano; a number of method book writers assumed that beginner guitarists already possessed musical skills. These writers were also keen to point out how the guitar had particular advantages in some situations; its soft sound was well suited to accompanying the female voice and its portability enabled its use on occasions when use of a piano was impractical. These issues were illustrated in the case studies. Eliza Chichester in Yorkshire was a pianist, and one of her diaries described how she had her portable guitar with her when she was travelling. Later in the century Augusta Hervey started learning the piano at an early age, almost certainly before she started the guitar, and became an accomplished pianist.

The question of the gender of most amateur players could not be answered straightforwardly. The prevailing view of the time, especially in the earlier years, was that the guitar, like the piano and harp, was a woman's instrument. My investigation revealed that most teachers were women and, given that many of these teachers were governesses who would largely have taught girls, one may assume that the majority of amateurs were female. However, there is evidence that female teachers taught both women and men in the later Victorian period. Evidence of dedications, illustrations, and text in the method books also confirm that men played the guitar throughout the period. Accounts of their activities are hard to find; Bashford has noted that the private music making of men left fewer records than that for women partly because playing an instrument did not lend itself to an accepted manly image.⁸⁵⁶ In addition, some, like Charles Cochrane may have dismissed the 'female regime' of method books and lessons⁸⁵⁷ and so their activities would feature little in the evidence that I have found. However, for those men who did choose to use method books interesting differences between their possible levels of achievement and those of women were noticed. My research has shown that the detailed advanced books showed no overall bias towards

⁸⁵⁶ Bashford, 'Historiography', p. 300.

⁸⁵⁷ Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 201.

either sex, but that in the less advanced, adequate books, in the earlier part of the century a bias towards female players could be discerned. This suggests that male guitarists became more proficient, or were expected to become so, while women were more often thought to favour a simpler approach, which often included song accompaniments.

The places where amateurs played their guitars became apparent in the two case studies. In the earlier Victorian years they played in private domestic spaces, although as was seen at Burton Constable Hall, large numbers of visitors may have been present for the amateur performances. In some sense these were, like the salon concerts that Solie describes, not private domestic occasions.⁸⁵⁸ Possibly, however, the guitar was more often used in quieter domestic settings as suggested by the lithograph of the sisters with a guitar in the library (See Figure 6:4). It may have been no accident that Pelzer wrote in the introduction to his *Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* that it was played in the 'Closet and the Camp' but then made no mention of the 'Drawing-room'.⁸⁵⁹ Later in the century amateurs, while undoubtedly continuing to enjoy music in private, also played in larger places that were, without question, public spaces. This was illustrated with the women's band concerts in which Augusta Hervey took part from the mid-1880s onwards at a time when public performance by female amateurs became socially acceptable.

This thesis has offered evidence about amateurs in London from just two main sources. In addition, most of the consideration has been of better-off players. As musicology increasingly recognises the importance of the social context of music, further and wider research is needed in order to provide greater understanding of the guitar's place in nineteenth-century society. Activities in regional areas should be explored further and attention needs to be given to guitar players among the less well-off, including those who may have acquired their skills aurally without books or formal lessons. Sources on which I have only lightly touched, including regional newspapers, criminal records, art, and literature, would enrich the findings. In addition, thorough and accurate investigation into

⁸⁵⁸ Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 124.

⁸⁵⁹ Pelzer, *Instructions*, p. 4.

professional English guitarists in the second half of the century, such as Pratten, is badly needed and would help to provide a more complete picture.

Appendix A

The Survey of London-based Teachers

The teachers are listed together with the source of information and the instruments that they taught.

Dates are given in the format day/month/year or month/year for monthly publications.

Where an address remains unchanged from the previous entry this is indicated with 'Ditto'.

Some advertisements state the teacher's nationality, where they taught, and whether they organised a band. These details and other details of interest are noted, a language in the entry is the language taught.

List of Abbreviations

BSMLD. The Boarding School and London Masters' Directory (London: G.B. Whittaker, 1828)

MP. Morning Post

Instruments taught:

b. Banjo
cl. Clarinet
co. Concertina
f. Flute
g. Guitar
h. Harp
lu. Lute
ly. Lyre
m. Mandolin
ma. Mandola
p. Piano
s. Singing/Voice
sg. Spanish Guitar
tb. Thorough Bass
v. Violin
vc. 'cello
z. Zither

Rare instruments and other subjects taught are not abbreviated.

Adam, Herr J A

MP, 19/11/58. *g, p, s, z, german.* 9 Albany St, Regent's Park, N.W.

Musical Directory: 1859. *g, p, s.* Ditto.

Alexander, G

The 'Jo, 4/94 - 8/94. *b, g, m.* 26 Wilton St, S.W.

Alexander, Mr and Mrs George

The 'Jo, 3/96. *b, g, m, p, v, z.* Ditto; Victoria Music Studios, Victoria Station.

Allan, J Cameron

The 'Jo, August 94 - March 96. *b, g, m, Portuguese guitarra*. 115 London Wall, E.C.

Allen, jun. and sister

MP, 1/4/25. *g, h, p, tb, scientific singing*. 79 St Martin's Lane.

Allen, Miss de Lisle / Allen, Miss de L. / F de L. A.

MP, 17/2/82. *g, p, s*. 80 George St, Portman Square, W.

Schools attended.

MP, 6/8/84 - 7/8/84. *g, p, s*. 40 Dorset St, Portman Sq, W.

Holiday engagement desired.

MP, 15/5/84 - 19/5/84. *g, p*. Ditto.

MP, 10/5/86 - 1/10/86. *g, p, s*. Ditto.

Visits Brighton and Bromley.

MP, 6/8/87 - 8/8/87. *g*. Ditto.

Desires a few weeks in a country house in exchange for guitar lessons.

MP, 4/5/88. *g*. 69 Warwick Rd, Maida Vale.

MP, 22/10/88 - 23/10/88. *g*. c/o Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 84 New Bond St.

MP, 5/5/90. *g*. 12 Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.

MP, 4/8/90. *g*. Ditto.

Seeks weeks in country house in exchange for guitar lessons.

MP, 31/7/91 - 7/9/91. *g*. 6 Hazlitt Rd, West Kensington Park, W.

Seeks few weeks country/seaside in exchange for guitar lessons.

MP, 21/10/91. *g, p*. 31 St Mary Abbots Terrace, Kensington, W.

Guitar accompaniments arranged.

MP, 22/1/92 - 27/1/92. *g*. c/o Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., 5 Blenheim St, Bond St, W.

Schools attended

MP, 11/6/92. *g*. 2 Chichester Rd, Elgin Crescent, Kensington Park W.

Holiday engagement required in July.

MP, 1/8/92. *g*. 54 Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W.

Seeks a few weeks in the country in exchange for guitar lessons.

MP, 3/11/93. *g*. 54 Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W.

MP, 11/7/94. *g*. 3 St Mary Abbott's Terrace, Kensington, W.

MP, 3/11/94. *g, p, s, harmony*. Ditto.

MP, 1/5/95. *g, p*. Ditto.

MP, 20/2/96. *g*. Ditto; Messrs Chappell & Co.

MP, 17/2/96. *g*. Ditto.

MP, 15/10/96 - 19/10/96. *g*. Ditto.

Band Practice at Messrs Chappell & Co., Wednesdays.

MP, 25/2/97 - 27/2/97. *g*. Ditto.

Band Practice 2? New Bond St, Wednesdays.

MP, 8/3/98. *g*. Ditto.

Recommended by Lady Amhurst of Hackney and Lady Blois.

MP, 25/9/99. *g, m*. Ditto.

Alvarez, Senora

MP, 25/4/94 - 2/10/94. *g*. Rosebury House, Bessborough St.

From Spain.

MP, 28/2/95 - 9/5/95. *g*. 174 Tachbrook St, S.W.

Speciality, the graces of the guitar peculiar to the Spaniards.

Amber, Miss

MP, 12/3/85. *b, g*. 13 Portadown Rd, Maida Vale.

MP, 16/4/85. *g*. De Knock's Library, 5 Clifton Rd, W.

Guitar taught with Spanish effects.

Anelli, Signor

MP, 29/3/17. *sg, s.* 57 Poland St.
MP, 19/2/52. *g, s.* 4 Northumberland Place.
MP, 26/10/53 - 9/11/53. *g, s.* 50 St John's Wood Terrace.
MP, 17/3/55. *g, s.* 16 Northumberland Place.
MP, 16/2/57 - 26/5/57. *g, s.* 18 Westbourne Place.
Schools attended.

Arcas, Senor Julian

MP, 18/3/63 - 31/3/63. *g.* c/o Mrs Pitmann, 58 Queen Anne St.
Spanish songs.

Arian, Miguel, alias Francois Rug

MP, 15/1/85. *g, spanish.*

Aspa, Signor

MP, 14/5/30. *p. sg, s.* 61 Berner's St, Oxford St.
Performs duets with Ventura.

Baker, H.

The 'Jo, April 94 - Feb 95. *b, g, m.* Shrewsbury House, Gertrude St, Fulham.

Ballantine, Professor

MP, 20/4/75 - 13/5/75. *b, g.* Banjo and Guitar Studio, 1 St Mary-Axe, Leadenhall St.
Late of St James's Hall.
MP, 16/4/91 - 2/5/91. *b, g.* Banjo and Guitar Studio, 9 St Mary Axe.
MP, 4/5/93. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Bartolini, Signora

MP, 4/4/29. *g.* 3 Middleton Buildings, Foley Place.
Neapolitan, just arrived.

Baruel, Monsieur de

MP, 12/4/36 - 14/4/36. *sg, french, italian.* 24 Manchester St.
Graduate of Paris University.
MP, 31/10/37. *sg, french, italian.* 32 Charlotte St.
MP, 31/12/44. *g, french, italian.* 25 Charlotte St.

Bellenghi, Signor

MP, 29/5/93. *g, m.* 15 High Rd, Knightsbridge.
Of Florence.
MP, 19/6/94. *g, m, ma.* Ditto.

Beretta, Madame Thalia

MP, 8/9/90. *b, g, s.* Cornwall Lodge, Anerley, Redhill, 84 Bond St.
MP, 26/4/92. *g, m, s.* Ditto.
MP, 18/10/97 - 14/2/98. *g, m, s.* 34 Comerach Rd, South Croydon College.
MP, 13/3/99 - 25/12/99. *g, m, s.* Ditto, 84 New Bond (Wednesday); 38 Oxford St (Monday).
Ladies' Band of Mandolins and Guitars.

Bertioli, Signor

MP, 25/1/20. *sg.* 95 Great St Martin's Lane.
MP, 19/2/20. *sg.* 45 Poland St.
MP, 14/3/21. *sg, ly.* 4 Brewer St.
MP, 9/1/22 - 6/6/22. *sg, s.* 12 Broad St.
MP, 9/7/24. *sg, s.* 14 Broad St.
MP, 6/1/25. *sg, s.* 4 Castle St East.
MP, 30/10/26. *sg, s.* Moves from 27 Upper Eaton St to 38 Dean St.
MP, 6/3/27 - 31/7/27. *sg, s.* 38 Dean St.
MP, 8/4/29. *sg, s.* Ditto.
MP, 2/6/30. *g, s.* 51 Poland St.
MP, 13/5/33. *sg, s.* 1 Gower Place, Euston Sq.

Betts, Miss Abigail/Abby

MP, 4/10/48 - 29/4/51. *g, p, s, art of accompanying vocal music.* 3 Brompton Grove.
Of the Theatres Royal Drury Lane and Covent Garden.

Bolton, T.

MP, 19/3/18. *g, lu.* 26 Buckingham Place, Fitzroy Sq.

Bramley, T. Louis

The Troubadour, May 98 - December 99. *g, m.* 155 Gordon Rd, Peckham.

Brandeau, Herr F. W.

MP, 25/4/55. *g, p, s.*
Late Organist of the German Lutheran Chapel.

Brashier, Miss

MP, 6/5/45. *s, sg.* 16 Blandford St, Portman Sq.

Brown, G. W.

BSLMD, 1828. *f, cl, sg, v.* 17 Holywell St, Strand.

Bruni, Signor

MP, 18/3/25. *g.* Lyceum of Fine Arts, 5 New Rd, Regent's Park.
MP, 8/6/35. *g.* 50 Berwick St.

Buchanan, Miss Jeanie

LRAM.
MP, 28/10/93. *g, m, s.* 32 Fairfax Sd, Finchley Rd.
MP, 11/2/96. *g, m, s.* Ditto.

Bulkley, Mrs Dussek

MP, 15/8/31. *h, p, s, sg.* 6 Paddington Green; Messrs Chappel and Co., New Bond St.
Kensington, Brompton, Chelsea on Mondays and Thursdays.
City, Islington, Highbury, St. Pancras on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
West End of Town and home, Tuesdays and Fridays.
Schools attended.

Card, Mr⁸⁶⁰

BSLMD, 1828. *sg.* 98 Quadrant, Regent St.

⁸⁶⁰ For details of William Card, flute player and composer, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 78. The guitar is not mentioned in this short biography.

Carlisle, Mr Clement

MP, 19/5/37 - 22/5/37. *f, sg.* 20 St Martin's Lane.

Chabran, Felice

See 'Teacher of the Spanish & Piano Forte Guitar, & Violin', Title page, Felice Chabran, *Compleat Instructions* (London: Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow, 1795).

Chalk, Mrs, son & Edward Du Bois

BSLMD, 1828. *h, g, p.* 10 Westminster Bridge Rd.

Chambers, Miss

MP, 23/1/37 - 10/3/37. *g, s.* The Cottage, Park Place, Paddington.

Chapman, Emilie

MP, 26/2/96. *g, m, v, autoharp.* 2 Shaftesbury Villas, Allen St, Kensington.

Mandolinist to Royal Italian Opera.

Ladies' weekly band.

MP, 23/4/96 - 7/5/96. *g, m. v.* 14 Abingdon Mansions, Abingdon Rd, Kensington.

MP, 24/2/97 - 17/2/98. *g, m.* Ditto.

Ladies' Band practice Wednesday afternoons.

Cherer, Madame Talbot, née Eliza Ann Hughes

MP, 2/10/95 - 17/10/95. *g, m, ma.* 43 Elgin Avenue.

Associate of Royal Academy of Music. Mandolinist to Italian Opera.

MP, 2/10/95 - 13/1/96. *g, m. s.* Ditto.

MP, 5/10/96 - 2/11/96. *g, m, s.* 34 Gascony Avenue.

MP, 7/2/98 - 14/3/98. *b, g, m, s.* Ditto.

Ciebra, Don J

MP, 17/6/44. *g,* 9 Newman St.

Ciebra, Don J and Don R de

MP, 8/10/46 - 15/10/46. *g.* 35 University St.

Conroy, Eliza, Mrs Donatus Henchy

Eliza Conroy, Professor of Music. 1841 census for Newman St, Marylebone, Public Record Office HO 107/675/14.

Eliza Conroy, 'Pianoforte & Guitar'. *Royal Society of Musicians List of Members*, p. 166.

Coviello, Signor

MP, 11/6/89. *g, cornet.* 5 Sudbourne Rd, Brixton.

Cramer, Mr A F

MP, 26/1/91 - 26/1/91. *b, g, m.* Academy, 17 Grafton St.

MP, 24/4/91 - 29/10/91. *b, g, m.* Studio, 97B Regent St.

Guitar, Banjo, Mandolin Studio established 1882.

MP, 26/4/92 - 7/5/92. *b, g, m.* Studio, 10 Vigo St.

MP, 5/11/92 - 8/11/92. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Mandolinist at Madame Patti's Royal Albert Hall concert.

Private lessons, classes now being formed.

MP, 19/4/93 - 1/6/93. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

A few vacancies in Mandolin and Guitar Band.

MP, 8/6/93 - 6/6/95. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

MP, 18/4/96 - 28/4/96. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

The Troubadour, July 96 - December 99. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Creber, Miss

St Pancras Reporter, 17/9/59. *g, p.* 18 Eversholt St, Oakley Square.

Danger, Miss

MP, 26/7/98. *g, m, p, languages.* 13 Palace-gate, S.W.
Desires holiday engagement

Daniels, Madame Cara

MP, 13/11/89 - 12/6/90. *b, g.* 120 Beaufort St, Fulham Rd, S.W.
(USA).

MP, 14/1/91 - 5/5/92. *b, g, s.* 7 Cambridge St, Hyde Park, W.

MP, 22/9/92 - 8/3/93 *b, g, voice production.* 17 Bryanston St, Portman Sq, W.

MP, 20/9/94 - 26/9/94. *b, g, voice culture.* 79 Seymour St, Connaught Sq, W.

MP, 29/11/94 - 23/4/95. *b, g, s, voice production, elocution.* 70 Baker St, Portman Sq.

MP, 3/10/95. *b, g, voice culture.* 17 Bryanston St, Portman Sq, W.

MP, 18/6/96 - 26/6/96. *b, g, voice culture.* 16 Cambridge St, Hyde Park, W.

Daniels, Joe

MP, 13/9/97 - 20/12/98. *b, g, m.* 112 Leadenhall St, E.C.

Derwort, Mr G. H.

MP, 1/3/27. *g.* 84 Dean St.

MP, 28/5/36. *g.* 55 Gt Marlborough St.

Dipple, Mr

BSLMD, 1828. *f, g.* 3 Great St, Thomas Apostle.

Dobrowolski, B. W.

MP, 1/12/51. *g, s.* 20 Norton St. Portland Place.

Dressler, Mr R.

BSLMD, 1828. *f, g.* Dufour Place, Golden Sq.

The Times, 20/3/29. *f, g.* 10 Dufour's Place, Broad St, Golden Square.

Dryden, Madame, née Malvina Serquet

MP, 14/10/72. *g, h.* Classes at Crystal Palace School of Art, Science and Literature.

Ellis, Herbert J.

MP, 5/10/94 - 18/10/94. *b, g, m.* 14 Glasshouse St, Regent St, W.

MP, 10/5/99. *b, g, m.* c/o Mills, 63 Moorgate St, E.C.

Emwood, Miss

BSLMD, 1828. *p, sg.* 39 Chapman St.

Ernst, Philip

MP, 16/7/36. *f, g.*

L'Estrange, Madame Jeanne

MP, 21/9/91. *g, m.* Winicotel, Elmfield Rd, Tooting.

Lately instructed the Art Club Ladies' Guitar & Mandoline band.

Is forming a select amateur band in Kensington.

Eulenstein, Mr

MP, 13/6/33 - 1/7/33. *g.* 27 Warwick St, Golden Square.

Fernandez, Don José

MP, 28/11/93. *g.* c/o Faulkner's Hotel.

Spanish professor, arrived London.

MP, 17/11/94 - 22/11/94. *g, m.* Claremount House, Kingsland.

MP, 12/2/96. *g,* 369 City Rd, E.C.

Follini, Professor

MP, 15/4/86 - 11/10/87. *g, m.* 36 Camberwell New Road.

MP, 18/1/88 - 1/2/88. *g, m.* 43 Basnett Rd.

MP, 13/6/88 - 23/6/88. *g, m.* Ditto.

Of London Organ School.

Forde, Federico

Edith Feilden, 'Death of Professor Forde', *The Troubadour*, March 1901, p. 57. *g.*

Pseudonym used by Fred Woodford.

Fowler, Miss Aimée

MP, 23/2/97 - 21/4/97. *g.* 43 Gloucester Place, Portman Square.

MP, 21/5/97 - 23/10/97. *g.* 45 Scarsdale-villas, Kensington.

MP, 9/11/97 - 11/11/97. *g.* Ditto.

Pupils required for Guitar Singing Band.

MP, 20/11/97 - 25/11/97. *g.* Ditto.

Visits Streatham Hill, Mondays; Portman Square, Saturdays.

MP, 25/3/98 - 7/6/98. *g.* Ditto.

Foxwell, Miss

The Troubadour, 4/97 - 12/99. *b, g, m.* Mansfield House, Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale, W.

France, Louise

'Miss Louise France', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 15 June 1897, p. 2257. *g, p, s.*

Professor of Guitar at Brixton College of Music.

Francia, Signor Leopold

MP, 24/7/97 - 6/8/97. *g. m.* 39 Oxford St, W.

Conductor of the Ladies' Guitar and Mandoline Band.

Galbraith, Miss

MP, 24/4/45 - 26/4/45. *g, s.* Terms, Messrs Cramer Beale & Co.

Galbreath, Mr⁸⁶¹

BSLMD, 1828. *f, s, sg, Logier's System.* 10 Little Distaff St.

MP, 25/2/29. *f, p, s, sg.* 177 Piccadilly.

George, Mrs

BSLMD, 1828. *h, g, p.* 8 Church Row, Islington.

⁸⁶¹ Father of Mrs Stone, née Galbreath who also taught guitar. See St Anne's Church, Westminster, marriage record of Luisa Galbreath and Arthur Stone, 21 March 1846. The bride's father was James Galbreath, Professor of Music.

Geary, Miss / E.M.G.

MP, 12/12/38. *h, g, p, french, italian, flower painting, heraldry, the globes, composition, writing, arithmetic.* 61 St James's St.

MP, 26/6/39. *h, g, p.* Ditto.

MP, 14/11/49 - 23/11/49. *h, g, p.* Ditto.

Gibbs, H J

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 10/95 - 6/96. *b, g, m.* 12 Edgworth Terrace, Pembury Rd, Tottenham.

Gistau, Castro de

MP, 28/4/29. *sg.* 17 Frith Street.

Glyn, Miss Alice

MP, 14/1/99 - 5/10/99. *g, m.* Grosvenor Ladies' Music & Art Studios

Gomez, Francisco

MP, 2/3/22. *sg.* 8 Orange St, Bloomsbury Square.

Gomez, Mrs

MP, 15/2/28. *g.* Academy (with Huerta), 12 South Molton Street, Oxford Road.
A Spanish Guitarist [sic] lately arrived from Paris.

Gould, Mr Napoleon

MP, 12/4/42. *g, s.* 17 Stafford Row, Pimlico.

MP, 18/7/42. *g, s.* Ditto.

Visits Blackheath, Woolwich and Gravesend every week.

MP, 6/12/42. *g, s.* 10 Oxford St.

MP, 13/7/46. *co, g, s.* 39 Warwick St, Regent St.

Gould Panormo, Madame (Caroline)

MP, 7/5/36. *g, p, tb.* 10 Gower St North.

Guitar taught in true Spanish style.

Finishing schools attended.

Gracia, Mrs

MP, 5/5/57 - 7/5/57. *g, p, s. music, harmony.* 6 Upper Fitzroy St.

Graille, T. T.

MP, 12/6/33. *p, s, sg.* 29 George St, Hanover Sq.

Greenop, Norton

The 'Jo, 4/94 - 2/95. *b, g, m.* 23 Bishopsgate Street Within.

Greer, Mr

The Age, 4/11/32, *f, s, sg.* 6 Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane.

Griffiths, R. P.

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 1/96 - 11/98. *b, g, m.* Mertyn, Woodville Road, Ealing.

Grimes, Ada

'Miss Ada Grimes', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 1 April 1898, p. 2989. *g, m.*

Conductress of the Richmond & Kew Guitar and Mandolin Band.

Formerly Professor of Guitar at Richmond School of Music.

Guerra, Signor

MP, 14/1/90. *g, m.* 13 Dorset St, Portman Sq, W.
MP, 7/11/91 - 14/11/91. *g, m.* 37 Manchester St, Manchester Sq, W.
MP, 9/10/94. *g, m.* 48 George St, Portman Sq, W.

Guerrini, Signor / Signor Y. Guerrini

MP, 6/6/87 - 21/6/87. *g, m.* 164 Great Titchfield St.
MP, 7/3/88 - 26/4/88. *g, m.* 50 Osnaburgh St, Regents Park.
MP, 31/5/88 - 19/6/88. *g, m.* 6 Winsley St, Oxford Circus.

Gumer, Herr von / Gumer, Herr G Pederzani von

MP, 7/9/92 - 3/10/93. *g, m, z.* 1 Anderson St, Sloane Square, S.W.
MP, 25/2/88. *g, m, z.* c/o Chappell, or c/o Madle Lucy d'Oria, Earls Court.
MP, 5/12/94. *g, m, z, vc.* Studio 46 Hugh St, Eccleston Square.
Every Tuesday at Hampton Court Palace and Richmond.
MP, 25/2/98 - 13/6/98. *g, m, z, philomele.* Mandolin & Guitar Studio. Ditto.

Halfpenny, S. A.

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 8/94 - 2/95. *b, g, m.* 63 Park Rd, West Ham.
The Troubadour, 4/97 - 9/99. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Halfpenny, Misses

The Troubadour, 10/99 - 12/99. *b, g, m.* 189/191 Upton Lane, Forest Gate.

Hamilton Smith, Miss

Musical Times, 7/1888. *b, g, m.* 13 Dorchester Place, Blandford Sq, W.
And Beechwood House, Chester, during August and September.
Musical Times, 12/1888 - January 1889. *g, m.* Ditto.
Musical Times, 2/1891. *g, m.* 43 Blandford Square, W.
The 'Jo, 8/94 - 2/95. *b, g, m.* 61 Warwick Rd.

Hanmam, Mademoiselle E. M.

MP, 2/3/47. *h, p, s, sg.* 9 Bedford Place, Russell Square.

Harrison, Frank Mott.

The Troubadour, 6/1897. *g.* Fridays at 60 Berners St, Oxford St.
The Troubadour, 8/1897. *g.* Trinity College of Music.

Horetzky, Felix

See below.

Horetzky, Madame

MP, 28/4/91. *g.* 16 Melrose Gardens, West Kensington, W.
Pupil of her late husband.

Howie, Miss

MP, 2/4/42 - 6/7/42. *g. singing with guitar.* 14 Riding House Lane.
Schools attended

Hudson, C

The 'Jo, 8/94 - 2/95. *b, g, m.* 263 Camberwell Rd.

Hudson, Mr and Mrs

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 10/95 - 12/99. *b, g, m.* 263 Camberwell Rd.

Huerta, Mr / Signor

MP, 15/2/28. g. 42 South Molton St, Oxford Rd.

Will open his Academy with Mrs Gomez.

MP, 10/6/30. g. Terms on application from Mr Chappell, Messrs Johanning & Co., Mr Panormo.

He intends to establish himself in London and to give lesson.

Madame Huerta will also give lessons to Ladies.

Huerta, Madame (née Angiolina Panormo)⁸⁶²

MP, 18/7/35 - 22/7/35. p, s, sg. Notes to Mr Panormo.

Wife of Celebrated Guitarist.

MP, 17/3/36. g, s. c/o Panormos

Hurst, Miss Mary

'The Scientific Training School for Music', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 1 July 1895, pp. 947-948. Miss Hurst teaches Guitar.

MP, 6/3/97 - 6/12/97. g. Grosvenor Ladies' Music and Art Studios, 115 Ebury St.

Huyghue, Mr H

MP, 14/5/27. g. 16 Great Portland St.

Just arrived from Paris.

Jauralde, N

See 'Professor of the above Instrument', Title page: N. Jauralde, *A Complete Preceptor for the Spanish Guitar* (London: The Author, 15 Finsbury St, Finsbury Square, [1828]).

Jenkins, B M

Polytechnic Magazine, 29/9/92 - 11/1930. g, m. Regent Street Polytechnic.

Jones, Professor Clark

MP, 7/7/96 - 9/7/96, b, g, m. 52 Margaret St.

From Virginia, USA.

Julian and Brewster

MP, 28/9/78 - 7/10/78. b, g. 5 Clareville-Grove, South Kensington; 25 Russell St, Covent Garden.

Taught by ear or music.

Konss-Baylis, Madame Liebe, & Miss Lilian Konss-Baylis

MP, 18/6/90. g, m, s, v. 92 Fernhead Road, W.

Kraft, Fraulein

MP, 2/10/96 - 16/10/96. g, m, z. 158 Kensington Park Road, Bayswater.

Mandolinist Royal Italian Opera

Mandolin and Guitar band now commencing

MP, 21/5/97 - 11/11/98. g, m, z. Ditto.

Krohn, Miss M.

MP, 20/5/95. g, s. 16 George St, Hanover Sq, W.

⁸⁶² Angiolina Panormo was the daughter of the luthier Louis Panormo. See Suárez-Pajares and Coldwell, *Huerta*, p. 15.

Lamb, Miss Gladys

BW, 11/93 *g*. 20 Morella Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.
'The Jo, Aug 94. *g*. Ditto.

Lea, H.

MP, 11/4/31, *f, g*.
MP, 27/2/37. *g, s*. 14 Hanway Street, Oxford Street.
MP, 25/3/40. *g*. Ditto.
Musical Directory: 1855. *Co, f, g, s*. 8 Park Terrace, Camden.

Leleux, Miss/Made

MP, 8/11/95 - 25/3/98. *b, g, m*. Address: Madlle Leleux, 8028, 346, Strand, W.C.

Levey, Miss Nellie

MP, 11/2/88 - 13/7/89. *g, vocalist*. 12 Red Lion Sq, W.C.
MP, 31/7/89 - 11/12/94. *g, vocalist*. 60 Oxford & Cambridge Mansions, Hyde Park, W.
MP, 11/1/95 - 15/3/95. *g, vocalist*. Ditto.
Miss Levey's Mandolin and Guitar Band meets every Wednesday at 11.30.
MP, 10/6/95 - 10/7/95. *g, vocalist*. Ditto.
MP, 4/10/95 - 25/3/96 *g, vocalist*. Ditto.
Miss Levey's Band will meet on Wednesday October 16 at Eleven o'clock.
MP, 15/10/95 - 23/3/96. *g, vocalist*. Ditto.
Miss Levey's Mandolin and Guitar Band will meet on Wednesdays.
MP, 11/6/96 - 13/11/99. *g, vocalist*. Ditto.

Linton, the Misses

MP, 16/11/95 - 18/11/95. *g, m*. 105 New Oxford St.
Italian Method.

Lloyd, Miss E. C.

Sunday Times, 6/1/28. *sg*. Athenaeum of Arts, 35 Gerard St.
MP, 21/1/29. *g, s*. Athenaeum of Arts & Sciences, 49 Leicester Sq.

Lovegrove, F. E.

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 4/94, 4/97 - 12/98. *b, g, m*. 100 Faraday Street, Walworth Common, S.E.
Banjo Studio established 1880.

Loretta / Loretto, Miss Laura

MP, 16/3/97 - 25/3/97. *g, s*. 20 Conduit St. W.
MP, 30/9/97 - 5/10/97. *g, s*. Ditto.
Visits Tunbridge Wells and Brighton weekly.

Luigi, Signor G. Miss Luigi

MP, 4/7/44. *g, s*. Has moved from 57 Upper Charlotte Street to 18 Foley Place, Portland Place.
The tuning of the Instrument and accompanying the voice taught by Miss Luigi.
MP, 14/7/48. *sg, s*. 21 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street.
Lessons also by Miss Luigi
MP, 2/5/68. *Songs of Spain with accompaniments on guitar or piano*, 8 Eversholt Street, Oakley Square, N.W.

Luigi, Miss

MP, 13/11/91 - 7/3/92. *g, m.* 35 Park St, Regents Park

MP, 13/10/92 - 13/6/93. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

MP, 22/3/94. *b, g, m.* 55 Baker Street and 30 Princess Rd, Regents Park.

MP, 16/10/95 - 1/11/95. *b, g, m.* 55 Baker Street, Portman Square.

Luigi, Miss Amelia

MP, 5/6/94 - 14/6/94. *g, m.* Moutrie & Son, 55 Baker Street, Portman Square.

Returned from Boston.

Music arranged for Bands.

MP, 2/11/97 - 29/11/97. *g, m.* 21 Talbot Rd, Bayswater, W.

Returned from America.

Mackey, T

MP, 18/4/93. *b, g, m.* 179 Edgware Rd, W.

Maldura, Signor G. B.

MP, 1/5/94. *g, m.* 43 Duke St, Grosvenor Sq, W.

Roman Mandolinist.

Marchisio, G. B.

Prospectus, 1899.⁸⁶³ *g, lu, m, ma, mandolncello, theory of music, harmony, composition.*
281 Regent St, W.

Mees, Mr

MP, 19/1/16. *p, sg, s, v.* 4 Princes Street, Leicester Square.

Of Brussels.

Director of the Theatre and of the Music of his Highness the Duke of Brunswick.

Will agree on reasonable terms with Schools.

Messum, Miss F. C.

MP, 30/7/45 - 6/8/45. *g, h, s.* 90 Charlotte St, Fitzroy Square.

Blackheath and Richmond once a week.

MP, 17/3/46. *h, g, p, s.* Cramer & Co. Regent St; 90 Charlotte St.

Miller, Mr Albert

MP, 29/5/35. *sg, s.* 38 Gt Portland St.

Studied in Italy

MP, 23/2/37. *sg, s.* Ditto.

From Naples

MP, 1/5/39. *Singing with piano or guitar accompaniments.* Ditto.

Montagu, Miss Lily

MP, 16/6/92 - 21/12/93. *g, m, z.* 24 Haymarket, S.W.

MP, 20/3/94 - 11/3/97. *g, m, z.* 215 Piccadilly, W.

MP, 8/4/97 - 16/2/99. *g, m, z.* 4A Air St, Piccadilly, W.

MP, 16/5/99 - 28/11/99. *g, m, z.* 22A Dorset St, Portman Sq, W.

Montagu, Mr and Miss⁸⁶⁴

MP, 18/4/99 - 8/6/99. *b, g, m, z.* 22A Dorset St

⁸⁶³ G. B. Marchisio, *Prospectus, with Testimonials, List of Compositions, Press Notices etc.* (London: [1899])

⁸⁶⁴ Mr Montagu would have been Lily's brother, Wallie. See above Chapter 3, Section 3.2., footnote 292.

Monteau, Mr

MP, 9/5/03 - 13/6/03. *g*.

Mounsey, Miss

The Times, 25/1/62. *co, g*. Holland College, 2 Notting Hill Sq.

Muscarelli, Signor

MP, 25/3/35. *g, s*, 1 Margaret St, Cavendish Sq.

MP, 16/6/36. *g, s, v*. 16 Great Portland St.

Muscarelli, Madame

MP, 16/3/42. *g, p, s*. 19 New Bond St.

Nice, W.

BW, 11/93. *b, g, m*. 122 Fleet St.

The 'Jo, 4/94 - 8/94. *b, g, m*. Ditto.

Nicholson, Miss

Hearth and Home, 4/2/1897. *b, g, m, s*. 8 Eldon Road, Kensington.

Noel, Miss / Noël, Madame

MP, 17/1/83. *g*. 22 Porchester Road, Bayswater, W.

Songs Transposed for Guitar.

MP, 19/6/84 - 22/2/89. *b, sg*. Ditto.

MP, 27/9/89 - 23/12/89. *b, g, z*. Ditto.

MP, 24/2/90 - 3/7/91. *b, g*. Ditto.

Norton and Oliveira, Messrs

MP, 17/2/92 - 21/3/92. *b, g, m, z*. 74 Benham Rd, Brixton Hill, S.W.

Norton, Madame Mina

MP, 28/2/95 - 9/5/96. *g, s*. 63B Elizabeth Street, Eaton Square.

Studied Guitar in Spain.

Spanish, Basque, Neapolitan songs taught.

MP, 24/3/97. *g, s*. c/o Hotel Metropole.

Nüske, J A

See 'Instructions for the Spanish Guitar [...] Dedicated to his much esteemed Friend and Pupil Mrs Henry de la Chaumette', J. Nüske, *Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* (London: R Cocks, 1832), title page.

Pelzer, Cunigunda⁸⁶⁵

The Times, 24/9/66 - 6/3/67. *g, p, s*. 16 Connaught Terrace, Hyde Park.

The Orchestra, 9/6/71. *co, g*. 20 Westbourne Park Terrace.

Pelzer, Mr Ferdinand

MP, 14/3/36. *g*. 29 Great Portland Street.

MP, 10/12/62 - 12/12/62. *g, s, theory and science of music*. 11 Albany Street, Regents Park.

⁸⁶⁵ For details of the Pelzer/Pratten family See above Chapter 1, Section 1.4.

Pelzer, Madame Giulia

MP, 30/4/89 - 10/11/91. *g, m.* 2 Southampton Street, Bloomsbury Sq.

MP, 3/10/93 - 5/10/95. *g, m.* Ditto; Guildhall School of Music.

Ladies wishing to join her Guitar & Mandoline Band at 2 Southampton Street should apply by letter.

MP, 22/10/95 - 5/11/96. *g, m.* Ditto.

Sister & successor of the late Madame Sidney Pratten

MP, 10/11/96 - 23/6/99. *g, m.* Pratten's Studio, 2 Southampton Street, Bloomsbury Sq.

MP, 19/9/99 - 23/9/99. *g, m.* Ditto; Guildhall School of Music.

Guitar & Mandoline Band resumes 3 October at 2 Southampton St.

MP, 29/9/99 - 28/12/99. *g, m.* Pratten's Studio, 2 Southampton Street and Guildhall School of Music.

Phipps, T Bloomer

See 'Guida di Chitarra [...] by T. Bloomer Phipps, Professor of the Guitar', Title page *Guida di Chitarra* (London: Purday, n.d.)⁸⁶⁶. *g.*

Piercy, Mr

MP, 28/3/21. *h, g, p, v.* 87 Charlotte St.

Pineles, Madame

MP, 10/5/93. *g, m.* 43 Hereford Rd, Westbourne Grove.

Pineles, Madame and Miss

MP, 21/5/97 - 4/6/97. *g, m.* 33 Ledbury Road, Bayswater, W.

Poznaski, Mr L

MP, 24/4/40. *g, s, v.* 15 Dean St, Soho Sq.

Attends Ladies' Schools.

Pratten, Madame Sidney, née Madlle Catharina Josepha Pelzer

Madlle Pelzer

MP, 18/10/53. *co, g.* 13 Loudon Rd, Marlbro' Rd, St Johns Wood.

Madame Sidney Pratten

MP, 3/4/55 - 19/5/55. *co, g.* 131B Oxford Street.

MP, 6/6/58 - 20/1/59. *co, g.* 24 Holles Street, Cavendish Sq, W.

MP, 9/3/63. *g.* 38 Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square.

MP, 7/5/72 - 9/5/78. *g.* 22A Dorset Street, Portman Sq, W.

MP, 30/4/79 - 9/5/79. *g, gigelira.* Ditto.

MP, 26/2/80 - 26/5/83. *g.* Ditto.

MP, 29/10/83 - 31/12/85. *g.* Ditto.

Visits Brighton.

MP, 2/1/86 - 25/9/95. *g.* Ditto.

Prevost, Mr

BSLMD, 1828. *sg, french.* 11 Green St, Lisson Grove.

⁸⁶⁶ First published 1835, only a later reprint c. 1849 has been located. See Appendix C.

Range, M and Madame Ivan

MP, 10/3/91 - 6/6/91. *g, m.* 8 Richmond Place, West Brompton, S.W.

Range, Madame / Range, Madame Ivan

MP, 15/12/91 - 19/12/91. *g, m.* 1 Warwick Rd, Earl's Court, S.W.

Mandolinist, Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden.

MP, 14/3/92 - 8/3/93. *g, m.* 53 Edgware Rd.

MP, 27/10/93. *g, m.* 68 Holbein Buildings, Holbein Place.

Ladies Amateur Band practices weekly.

MP, 1/2/98 - 11/6/98. *b, g, m.* 68 Holbein Buildings.

Ladies' Band Practice, Bond Street, every fortnight.

MP, 1/11/98 - 3/11/98. *b, g, m.* 32 Holbein House, Sloane Square, S.W.

Visits Brighton every week

Ladies' Band Practice weekly,

Redl, Mr

MP, 18/3/62. *g, s, v, cornet-a-pistons.* 28 Bloomsbury St.

Regondi, Signor Giulio

MP, 21/4/37 - 8/5/37. *co, g.* 20 Conduit St; 7 Oxford St.

MP, 27/4/38. *co, g.* 6 Lower Grosvenor St.

MP, 21/4/47. *co, g.* 85 Newman St, Oxford St.

MP, 13/1/49. *co, g.* 70 George St, Portman Sq.

Richards, Mr

MP, 10/5/00 - 1/4/01. *g, p.* 38 Maiden Lane, Covent Gdn.

Rivière, Mdlle. Anna

MP, 1/5/30. *g, s.* Her Academy, 28 Thayer St, Manchester Square.

Rouge, Signor

The Satirist, 9/11/45. *g, s.* 54 Rathbone Place.

Ruming, Harry

The Jo, 8/94 - 10/95. *b, g, m.* 71 Kellett Rd.

Sacchi, Federico

See 'Tutor [...] revised by F. Sacchi Instructor by special appointment to T. R. H. the Princesses Victoria and Maud of Wales'. Title page, Antonio Nava, *Tutor for the French Guitar*, ed. by Henry Stevens, rev. by F. Sacchi, 2 vols (London: Ricordi, 1892)

MP, 3/3/88 Nellie Levey was his pupil.

The Times, 15/6/88 - 27/7/88. Nellie Levey was his pupil.

Sagrini, Luigi

MP, 18/5/93. A lady pupil of his gives guitar lessons.

Sandford, Miss

MP, 23/10/41. *g.* Little Pulteney St.

Saprini, Mr

MP 24/7/73 *g.* Cheltenham, then London.

Schmidt, Herr Johann

MP, 1/6/48 - 14/6/48. *f, g, v.* 34 Charlotte St.

Schuessler, Charles

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 3/96 - 11/96, *g, m.* 2 St John's Terrace, Highbury Park.

Schulz, Mr and Masters

MP, 29/4/26. *p, sg.* 67 Frith St.

Schwarz, Herr Constantine⁸⁶⁷

MP, 28/5/87 - 1/6/87. *g, z.* 22 Victoria Square, S.W.

MP, 13/7/89 - 15/10/89. *g, m, z.* Ditto.

MP, 6/6/90 - 12/7/90. *g, m, z.* 21 Victoria Square, S.W.

MP, 20/9/90 - 28/11/90. *g, m, z.* Ditto.

Visits Brighton Mondays and Wednesdays.

In London and Brighton until December, Nice and Cannes from January to May.

MP, 20/5/91 - 11/12/91. *g, m, z.* 17 Ebury St, S.W.

Conducts Ladies' Amateur Zither, Guitar and Mandolin Society.

Visits Brighton, will teach in Nice and Cannes from January

MP, 13/6/92 - 13/10/93. *g, m, z.* Ditto.

Conducts Ladies' Amateur Zither, Guitar and Mandolin society.

MP, 19/5/94 - 8/6/95. *g, m, z.* 21 Victoria Square, S.W.

MP, 25/6/95 - 24/6/96. *g, m, z.* 309 Vauxhall Bridge Road.

MP, 15/6/98 - 26/6/97. *g, m, z.* 323 Vauxhall Bridge Road.

MP, 10/5/98 - 23/5/98. *g, m, z.* 309 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

MP, 28/5/98 - 26/6/99. *g, m, z.* 317 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

Shand, Ernest

MP, 23/4/96 - 13/6/96. *g.* 23 Bryanston St, Portman Square, W.

Solo Guitarist

The Troubadour, 7/96 - 12/96. *g.* Ditto.

Smedley, Mr

MP, 3/3/34. *g, s.* Apply Mr Moore, Bookseller, Store Street, Bedford Square.

MP, 23/7/34. *s, sg.* Ditto.

Smith, Alfred

The 'Jo/Troubadour, 1/96 - 12/99. *b, g, m.* Penryn Rd, Kingston.

Smith, P. C.

Polytechnic Magazine, 25/10/88. *g, m.* Regent Street Polytechnic.

Sola, Mr Alfred⁸⁶⁸

MP, 1/2/50. *g, s.* 1A Wigmore St.

Musical Directory: 1855. *g, s.* 33a Edward St, Portman Sq, and Putney Vale, Roehampton.

MP, 31/3/57. *g, s.* 43 St James's Sq, Notting-Hill.

⁸⁶⁷ The advertisements show that Schwarz spent the early months of each year in the south of France or Italy.

⁸⁶⁸ Alfred Sola was the son of Charles Sola. See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 8 December 1940.

Sola, Charles

BSLMD, 1828. *f, g, s.* 88 Foley Place.

Very Celebrated Master.

MP, 23/3/33. A school offers tuition by a pupil of Sola.

MP, 8/12/40. *f, g, s.* 10 Charles Street, Middlesex Hospital.

Sor, Fernando

See 'the rapid progress of Miss Mary Jane Burdett [...] a result I have never been able to obtain [...] from other pupils'. Sor, *Method*, p. 42.

Somerton, H

The 'Jo, 4/94. *b, g, m.* 168 Stroud Green Rd, Finsbury Park.

Sosson, Alexander

See 'A Complete Instruction Book [...] Written and Arranged by Alexander Sosson, Professor of the Guitar'. Sosson, *Instruction Book*, title page.

Sperati, Signor / Mr

MP, 24/6/22. *p, s, sg, tb.* Shade's Music Warehouse, Soho Square.

MP, 11/12/38 - 10/1/39. *g, p, s, tb.* Mr Lee, 59 Frith Street, Soho Square.

Has taught several Noblemen's Families.

Attended some of the Principal Schools.

Stable, Miss

Musical Times, 1/6/91 *g.* 152 Finborough Road, S.W.

Stanley, Arthur

Musical Times, 1/11/92. *g.* St Peter's Institute.

MP, 16/10/95. *g, m.* Professor at London College of Music.

Has amateur Mandolin and Guitar Club. Banjo Band also commencing.

The Troubadour. 2/97 - 3/99. Professor at London College of Music. 123 Buckingham Palace Rd.

Stehling, Mr A

MP, 27/8/90 - 24/9/90. *g.* London Academy of Music, St George's Hall Langham Place.

Stiegler, A

MP, 23/10/37. *s, sg.* 1 Sutton Street, York Rd, Lambeth.

Stolle, Mr and Mrs

MP, 21/1/88 - 13/2/88. *g, m.* The Manager, Balmoral Rooms.

Stolli, Mr

MP, 11/1/87 - 15/1/87. *g, m.* 68 George St, Gower Street, W.

Stone, Mrs Arthur, née Luisa Eliza Galbreath⁸⁶⁹

MP, 4/4/57 - 10/11/58. *co, g, s.* 88 Great Portland St.

Musical Directory: 1857. *co, g, s.* Ditto.

Surrey, Miss

MP, 3/5/93 - 8/6/93. *g, m.* 10 Neville Terrace, South Kensington.

⁸⁶⁹ She was daughter of Mr Galbreath who also taught guitar. See above, Galbreath.

Szczepanowski, Mr S

MP, 21/6/39. *g*.

Taylor, Jane

See 'No. 1 of Popular Songs [...] arranged [...] by Jane Taylor Professor of the Guitar'. Title page of: Jane Taylor, *No. 1 of Popular Songs, sung in the Tempest, Arranged with Accompaniments for the Guitar by Jane Taylor, Professor of the Guitar* (London: F Platts, 1839).

And to be had of the authoress, 12 Caroline Place, Regents Park.

Tiffany, Miss

MP, 11/3/84. *h, g, p, s, drawing from nature*. 28 Colville Terrace, Powis Square, Bayswater.

Torre, Mr

MP, 21/11/34 - 25/3/35. *s, sg*. 38 Great Portland Street.

Tulloch, Ada

'The Misses Tulloch', *The 'Jo*, March 1895, pp. 20-22.

Vassi, Signor

MP, 7/1/63. *g*. 42 Tottenham Court Road.

Ventura, Mr Angelo / Signor Angelo Benedetto

MP, 10/2/12. *sg, harp lute*. 15 Broad Street.

MP, 22/10/14. *ly, sg, harp lute*. 2 Little Titchfield St, Great Portland Street.

Teaches Princess Charlotte of Wales and Saxe-Coburg.

MP, 23/4/16 - 28/4/17. *ly, sg, harp-lute*. 36 Queen St, Bryanston Square.

Inventor of the little Octavino, suitable for girls from the age of eight.

MP, 12/5/17. *sg, harp lute, ottavino*. 51 Foley St, Portland Place.

BSLMD: 1828. *ly, sg, apollo-lyre, harp-lute*. 48 Cirencester Place, Portland Place.

MP, 3/3/28 - 14/5/30. *sg, harp lute, ventura harp*. Ditto.

Plays duets with Aspa.

MP, 30/5/35 - 2/4/36. *ly, s, sg, harp-guitar, harp-lute*. 43 Great Marylebone Street, Portland Place.

MP, 5/8/39. *s, sg, harp-guitar, harp-lute, lyra*. 2 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth.

Verdavainne, Madame

MP, 15/5/50. *g, p*. 4 Old Cavendish Street, Cavendish Square.

Verini, Phillipe,

'Music, Signor Verini', *Literary Gazette*, 5 May 1827, pp. 284-285. *sg*.

Victor, Madame

MP, 26/6/86. *sg*. At pupils residence or at Cramer & Co., 63 New Bond St.

Vimarcati, Signor

MP, 1/5/24. *g, m, p, v*. 28 Great Pulteney St.

Of the Opera.

Wheattall, Miss

MP, 11/2/51. *g*. 24 Robert St.

White, Miss Moore

MP, 10/5/95 - 19/5/95. *g, s.* 4 Brunswick Sq.

Cert. R.A.M.

MP, 12/5/96 - 15/5/96. *g, s.* 67 Linden Gardens.

Williamson, Miss Agnes

MP, 23/11/91 - 7/10/92. *b, g, m.* 9 Palace Gate.

MP, 11/10/92 - 16/11/92. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Ladies' mandolin & guitar band once a week.

A few vacancies in the band for those who can play, instruments & strings supplied.

MP, 1/12/92 - 4/6/96. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

MP, 21/9/96 - 23/9/96. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Wanted, a few more ladies to join mandolin & guitar band.

Mandolin and guitar class Monday evenings.

MP, 8/10/96 - 31/10/96. *b, g, m.* Ditto. 9 Palace Gate.

Ladies' mandolin & guitar band Saturday evenings.

MP, 19/1/97 - 30/9/97. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Band practice Monday evening 8.30.

Wanted, Guitar players for Band.

MP, 2/10/97 - 8/2/99. *b, g, m.* Ditto; & Clapham Common.

MP, 23/11/97. *b, g, m.* Ditto.

Visits Clapham, Kensington, Putney, Beckenham, Denmark Hill.

MP, 9/5/98 - 27/9/98. *g.* Grosvenor Ladies' Music & Art Studios.

MP, 15/4/99 - 8/5/99. *b, g, m, portuguese guitarra.* 9 Palace Gate.

Wanted, ladies to join banjo mandolin & guitar band, amateur.

Instruments lent for practice.

MP, 20/5/99 - 7/11/99. *b, g, m, portuguese guitarra.* 9 Palace Gate.

Band practice every Monday, wanted a few more members.

Willis, Madame Frances

MP, 8/2/83. *g, s.* 111 Lancaster Rd, Lancaster Rd, Notting Hill, W.

MP, 4/6/85 - 31/1/88. *g, s.* Ditto.

MP, 1/2/88 - 1/5/88. *g, m.* Ditto.

Hastings visited.

MP, 23/6/88 - 21/7/88. *g, m.* Temporary address: 166 Lancaster Rd, Notting Hill, W.

MP, 1/8/88 - 22/11/90. *g, m.* Lyndhurst, 26 St Mark's Rd, North Kensington.

MP, 10/12/90 - 10/6/91. *g, m.* Ditto.

Ealing visited.

MP, 20/6/91 - 4/10/93. *g, m.* Ditto.

MP, 7/10/93 - 30/5/94. *g, m, æola.* Ditto.

MP, 2/10/95 - 23/11/95. *g, m.* 19 Ilchester Mansions, Kensington, W.

MP, 11/11/96 - 25/10/97. *g, m, æola.* Ditto.

Winder, J. G.

The 'Jo, 2/95 - 10/95. *b, g, m.* 14a Kentish Town Rd.

Windett, Beatrice

MP, 15/6/96. *g, m.* Grosvenor Ladies' Music and Art Studios.

Wybrow, Miss

MP, 12/4/44. *g.*

Daughter of Mr Wybrow who keeps a music shop in Rathbone Place.

Yeomans, James

Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion, 1/5/94. g.

Hampstead Conservatoire of Music, Swiss Cottage, N.W.

Sutton Conservatoire of Music.

School of Art, Cheam Road, Sutton, Surrey.

Appendix B

Sources for Table 3:1

Guiseppe Anelli

Born - Piacenza, Italy.
Arrived in London - 1815.
Died in London - 1865.
See Britton, 'Guitar', p. 347.

Ciebra, J. M. and Ciebra, R.

Born - Seville, Spain.
See Bone, *Guitar and Mandolin*, 2nd edn, p. 78.
In London by 1839.
See 'Musical Intelligence', *Musical World*, 16 May 1839.
Last noted in London in 1852.
See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 1 May 1852.

George Derwort

Born - Germany.
See Bone, *Guitar and Mandolin*, 2nd edn, p. 95.
First noted in London with the publication of his *Method*, 1825.
By 1845 he was in New York.
See Peter Danner, 'The Guitar in Nineteenth-century America: a Lost Social Tradition', *Soundboard*, 12:3 (1985), 292-98 (p. 295).

Herbert Ellis

Born - Stockwell, Surrey.
Teacher of Music.
See 1891 census, 12 Chesterfield Grove, Camberwell, Public record Office RG12/469. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/6598/images/LNDRG12_467_469-0618> [accessed 3 July 2018].
1901 census, 33 Maynall Road, Lambeth, Public Record Office RG/13/430. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7814/images/LNDRG13_429_430-0651> [accessed 3 July 2018].

Karl (Charles) Eulenstein

Born - Heilbronn am Neckar, Germany.
In England from 1827 until 1847.
See Britton, 'Guitar', pp. 347-48.

Frank Mott Harrison

Born - Brighton.
Teacher of Music.
See 1891 census, 14 Queens Road, Brighton, Public Record Office RG12/815. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/6598/images/SSXRG12_815_817-0149> [accessed 3 July 2018].
1901 census, 6 Hood Terrace, Hove, Public Record Office RG13/938. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7814/images/SSXRG13_938_939-0229> [accessed 3 July 2018].

Felix Horetzky

Born - Horyszów Ruski, Poland.

Living in England from 1827 and in Edinburgh by 1838.

See Robert Coldwell, Introduction to 'Felix Horetzky Quatre Variations Op. 22', *Soundboard*, 37:4 (2011), 60-61.

Trinidad Huerta

Born: Orihuela, Spain.

In England several times between 1827 and 1843.

See Suárez-Pajares and Coldwell, *Huerta*, pp. 8-24.

Giacomo Marchisio

Born - Italy.

See 1891 census, 12 Albert Street, Chelsea, Public Record Office RG12/55. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/6598/images/LNDRG12_55_56-0103> [accessed 2 July 2018].

Teaching guitar by 1899.

See Marchisio, *Prospectus*.

Elizabeth Mounsey

Born - London.

Teacher of Music.

See 1851 census, 31 Brunswick Place, Shoreditch, Public Record Office HO 107/1535. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1535_1535-1037> [accessed 12 August 2018].

1881 census, 58 Brunswick Place, Shoreditch, Public Record Office, RG 11/393. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7572/images/LNDRG11_392_397-0175> [accessed 12 August 2018].

John Abraham Nüske

Born - Archangel, Russia.

Living in London c. 1815.

Died - 1865.

See McCartney, 'Nüske'.

Ferdinand Pelzer

Born - Trier, Germany.

Living in London from 1829.

Died - 1864.

For details of the Pelzer/Pratten family See Chapter 1, Section 1.4.

Catharina Pratten, née Pelzer

Earliest teaching advertisement seen, 1846.

See 'Advertisements', *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 25 July 1846.

Born - Mülheim, Germany.

Died - 1895.

See Harrison, *Reminiscences*, pp. 18, 76.

Giulio Regondi

Earliest teaching advertisement seen, 1837.

See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 24 April 1837.

Born - Geneva.

Died - 1872.

See Simon Wynberg, 'Historical Notes', in *Giulio Regondi Concert Works for Guitar*, ed. by Simon Wynberg (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 2001), pp. v-vii.

Leonard Schulz

Earliest teaching advertisement seen, 1826.

See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 29 April 1826.

Born - Vienna.

Died - 1860.

See Erik Stenstadvold, "The Worst Drunkard in London": The Life and Career of the Guitar Virtuoso Leonard Schulz', *Soundboard*, 38:4 (2012), 9-16, 52 (pp. 9-11).

Ernest Shand

Earliest teaching advertisement seen, 1896.

See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 23 April 1896.

Born - Hull, Yorkshire.

See Button, *Guitar*, p. 154.

Charles Sola

Born - Turin, Italy.

See 1851 census, 38 South Bank, Marylebone, Public Record Office, HO 107/1491.

Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8860/images/MDXHO107_1491_1491-0736> [accessed 12 August 2018].

Living in London from 1816.

Died - 1857.

See Button, *Guitar*, p. 11.

Fernando Sor

Baptised - Barcelona. Spain.

Lived in London from 1815 until 1823.

See Jeffery, *Sor*, pp. 13, 49-78.

Stanislav Szczepanowski

Born - Naglowice, Poland.

See Matanya Ophee, 'Notes', in *Introduction et Variations Brilliantes sur un Air National*, by Stanislav Szczepanowski, ed. by Matanya Ophee (Columbus: Editions Orphée, 2001), p. 8.

Lived in England from 1839 until 1850.

See Button, *Guitar*, p. 90.

Phillipe Verini

Born - (Probably) Pisa, Italy.

Lived in London from approximately 1809.

See Wilfrid Appleby, 'Italian Friend of Ferdinand Sor', *L'Arte Chitarristica*, July 1948, pp. 4-5 (p. 4).

Died - 1845.

See Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. 193.

Appendix C

English Nineteenth-century Guitar Method Books

Method Books for the six string guitar are listed. Where I have not seen a book the source of information is noted. Various places have been used to date the books, library acquisition dates have been treated with caution because some publishers sent their music in batches which would include some items that were first published at earlier dates.⁸⁷⁰ This is particularly noticeable with the Pratten publications in the British Library; a large number of her works are all dated 1861 in the catalogue, the date of their legal deposit. Among them are some that were first published before her marriage of 1854. Publishers' addresses, as listed in Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers*, have been used to give dates for many books. Where plate numbers are given these are noted and some indicate publication dates as listed in Neighbour and Tyson, *Publishers' Plate Numbers*. Where water mark dates were found these have been noted.⁸⁷¹ Some books have been given the book's title as a publisher's identification on each page, these have not been noted because they do not add further information. The page numbers given largely follow Stenstadvold's model,⁸⁷² unnumbered pages are given in square brackets, blank pages have not been counted. In addition, wrappers that have survived have been excluded because many of these were removed before binding, comparisons between these books and others would therefore be distorted if they were to be included. Advertisements have also been excluded because in some later books, notably by Pratten, there was not consistency between different print runs. Library sigla, as listed in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, are used to indicate the locations of

⁸⁷⁰ Neighbour and Tyson note that some publishers deposited books at Stationers' Hall for registration in batches which could be some time after the publications dates. See Neighbour and Tyson, *Victorian Music Publishers*, p. 12.

⁸⁷¹ See above Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1., footnote 615.

⁸⁷² Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. xviii.

books. For places where sigla are unknown the full name of the holding institution is given.

List of Abbreviations:

ES Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*.

JP Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers*.

N&T Neighbour and Tyson, *Publishers' Plate Numbers*.

pn Plate Number.

wm Water Mark.

(*copy*) The copy consulted was a photocopy or pdf of the original.

Aguado, Dionisio

Simple Method

The Guitar / Taught by a / Simple Method, / or a / Treatise on the Elementary Principles, / of Playing that Instrument in an agreeable manner, / and / In a very short time, / by Sénor D'Aguado.

Publisher: R. Cocks & Co., 20 Princes Street, Hanover Square.

Plate number: 2871

Date: 1837 (N&T). Registered at Stationers' Hall, (ES).

Price: Eight Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1 - 37

Location of copy seen: Eire-Dam. (*copy*). This is an English translation of his *La Guitare Enseignée* which was published simultaneously in Paris, (ES).

Anelli, Guiseppe

New Guitar Method

Date: 1834 - 35.

Note: Not located. Source of information: Britton.⁸⁷³

Anon

Complete Book of Instructions

A Complete Book of / Instructions / for the Spanish Guitar, / Comprising a clear exposition of the / Rudiments of Music, numerous / Preludes, Airs and Lessons, / in the most Prevalent / Major and Minor keys, / Fingered for Both Hands, with / Explanatory Notes together with a / Table of Harmonics, / and a Scale of the Positions upon the System of / Mauro Giuliani. / Approved by A. T. Huerta.

Publisher: Mori & Lavenue, 28 New Bond Str.

Plate number: 2168

Date: wm 1825.

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1 - 32

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

⁸⁷³ Britton, 'Guitar', p. 238.

Anon

Instructions

Instructions / For the / Harp, Lute, Lyre, Spanish, & English / Guittar / Explained agreeable to the modern and most approved system / elucidated by various examples and other relative remarks. / To which is annexed / A selection of appropriate and favorite Songs Airs &c

Publisher: C Wheatstone, 436 Strand, London.

Date: 1805-15, (JP).

Price: Two Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1 - 28

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Anon

Master & Scholar

Master & Scholar, / or / The Spanish Guitar Simplified / being / A Complete Method / of Teaching that elegant Instrument in the shortest time, / upon a clearly progressive System with / Practical Lessons, / and a full description of the best manner of their Performance, / Compiled from / Ferdinand Carulli / with numerous additions.

Publisher: Portland Guitar Warehouse, 125 Gt. Portland Str., Regent Street.

Date: c.1830, (JP).

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, 3-18, Illustration

Location of copy seen: NL-The Hague, Nederlands Muziek Instituut. (*copy*).

Note: Missing pages 1 and 2.

Later Edition:

The wording of the title page is the same with two lines inserted at the top:

Improved Edition / with Paganini's Airs.

Publisher: Z. T. Purday, 45 High Holborn.

Date: Between 1841-60, (ES).

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, Illustration, 1-30

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Note: Pages three to eighteen are the same as the earlier edition. A picture of a girl playing the guitar in the earlier edition is absent and an illustration of the different parts of the instrument and further pages of music are added.

Anon

New Method of Learning the Spanish Guitar

A / New Method / of Learning / The Spanish Guitar / Divided / into two parts / The first containing the Theory / The second practical Examples / Extracted from the best authors / By / L. L***

Publisher: C. Barbe, 60 Quadrant Regent Street.

Date: w m 1828.

Price: Five Shillings and Six Pence each part.

Pages: Title, 1-21

Location of copy seen: First part GB-Lbl.

Note: Second part not located.

Anon

The Spanish Lyre

Date: 1825.

Note: Not located. See 'Advertisements', *Morning Chronicle*, 3 February 1825. It was advertised as a monthly periodical in which the first two numbers would contain the 'Elements of the Guitar'. It is unlikely that these were published.

Aspa, Stellario

Spanish Guitar Instructor

Spanish Guitar / Instructor, / In which the manner of holding the Instrument is fully explained / The scales in the Major & Minor keys, / are progressively Arranged and fingered, / and a concise and simple method of tuning the Instrument / To which is added / Several favorite Spanish and Italian Melodies, / The Whole Compiled in the easiest possible manner / by / Signor Aspa / Professor of the Guitar.

Publisher: W. Blackman, 5 Bridge Street, Boro.

Date: 1837-45, (ES).

Price: Two Shillings (or three shillings with appendix).

Pages: Title, 1-26

Location of copy seen: GB-Lam. (*copy*).

Note: Appendix not located.

Ballantine, W. E.

Guitar Tutor

Ballantine's / Guitar Tutor / a complete / self instructor / containing / scales, / exercises, / selections, / Songs with / Guitar / accompaniment etc. / The art of / accompaniment / simplified / and illustrated / with numerous / diagrams in / every Key / etc. / arranged in a progressive and comprehensive manner / and rendered / easy to every capacity by / W. E. Ballantine. / (England's Premier Classical Banjoist.) / Teacher of the Guitar and Banjo.

Publisher: W. E. Ballentine, 9, St., Mary Axe, E.C.

Date: 1886-89. A testimonial dated 1886 is given. The author refers to his work at the London International College which closed in 1889.⁸⁷⁴

Price: One Shilling and Six Pence.

Pages: Title. [1], 2-36, [4]

Location of copy seen: GB- London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Bennett, Alfred

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions for the / Spanish Guitar / founded on the Systems of the first Masters of that Instrument, particularly those of / Carulli, Giuliani, &c with Moretti's / System of Accompaniment. / Dedicated by Permission to / Her Grace the Duchess of Richmond. / by / Alfred Bennett. / Mus. Bac. Oxon.

Publisher: S. Chappell, 135 New Bond Street.

Plate number: 3578

Date: 1829, (N&T).

Price: Eight Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-45

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: Later reprints were made 1830-34 and 1879-90, (ES).

Bornhardt

Bornhardt's Easy Introduction to the Guitar, in English.

Reference: 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 24 March 1826.

Price: Four Shillings.

Note: Not located

Second Edition:

Second Edition / Bornhardt's / Easy Introduction / to the / Guitar / As an Accompaniment for the Voice, / with / Exercises and Arpeggios, / in the Principle Keys. / Also / Six Short Songs in a familiar Style, / Translated from the German.

Publisher: T. Boosey & Co. 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street.

⁸⁷⁴ Cyril Bibby, 'A Victorian Experiment in International Education: The College at Spring Grove', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 5:1 (1956), 25-36.

Date: 1826-32. Mention is made that Nüske, who made the translation, was preparing a tutor. This tutor was published in 1832.

Price: Four Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1 - 10

Location of copy seen: Private Collection. US-NH, (missing pp. 3-6) (*copy*).

Note: The latter copy is a later reprint of 1848. An advertisement at the end refers to an issue of the *Standard Lyric Drama* to be published in December 1848 which would feature Bellini's *Sonnambula*.

Borschitzky, J. F.

Guitar School

Guitar School for Violinists / Consisting of / 68 Landlers / Cadences in all Major and Minor Keys / Haydn's Serenade for Violin with Guitar / Mozart's Serenade for Voice and 2 Guitars

Publisher: The Author, 22 Burton Crescent, W.C.

Date: 1891-97. In the 1891 census the author lived at 24 Burton Crescent. See 1891 census for 24, Burton Crescent, St Pancras, Public Record Office RG12/122. The copy seen of the book has a library acquisition date stamp of 1897.

Price: Not shown.

Pages: Title, [1], 2 - 20

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Bortolazzi, Bartolomeo

Periodical Amusements

Periodical Amusements. / For the / Spanish Guitar. / Humbly Dedicated to / H. R. H. / The Duchess of York.

Publisher: Monzani & Hill, 3 Old Bond St.

Date: c. 1807, (ES).

Price: Three Shillings and Sixpence, or Three Pounds and Three Shillings for the 24 numbers.

Pages: Title, 1 - 11

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: The Periodical Amusements consisted of twenty-four volumes of music, the first an instruction book with the heading on the first page: 'Compleat Instructions, for the Spanish Guitar. Made perfectly simple and easy.'

Later reprints had publisher's addresses in Dover Street 1813-19 and Regent Street 1819-29, (JP).

Bruni, Marziano

Treatise

Treatise / on the / Guitar,

Publisher: The Author, 5 Arundell Street, Coventry Street. Sold by S Chappell, 50 New Bond Street.

Date: 1830-34, (JP).

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Title, Illustration. 1-69

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: Piano accompaniments to twelve pieces were also published: GB-Lbl.

Later Edition:

Treatise on the Guitar / Embracing the / Rules of harmony / with Examples for the / Guitar, Piano and Harp / Respectfully Dedicated by special permission / To / Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe / by / Marziano Bruni / Late Guitarist to the Queen of Sardinia.

Publisher: The Author, 180 Regent Street.

Date: After 1837, *God Save the King* p. 66 of the earlier edition has become *God Save the Queen*, p. 70, (ES).

Price: One Guinea.

Pages: Title, 1-72

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: A few pages of harp exercises are added. A later edition has been seen with a different picture of a woman holding a guitar and a small number of minor additions to the text, probably published before Bruni left England in 1847.⁸⁷⁵ Location of copy: Private Collection, (*copy*).

Capacio, Enrico

New Method for the Guitar

"Alliance Musicale" / New Method / for the / Guitar

Publisher: J. R. Lafleur & Son. 15 Green Street, Leicester Square, London W.C.

Date: 1881. Library acquisition date. Publisher at given address 1862-1881, (JP).

Price: One Shilling.

Pages: Title, [6], 1-22

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Carcassi, Matteo

Complete Guitar Method

Complete Guitar Method Op. 59. New Edition with an English translation by Federico Sacchi.

Publisher: Schott & Co., 159 Regent Street.

Date: 1890s

Price: Ten Shillings and sixpence or Three Shillings for each of three parts.

Pages: Title, [1], Illustration, 1-99

Note: Not seen. Source of information: (ES).

Carli, A.

Guitar Tutor

To / Mrs Robert Tait-Reid / Morley's / Guitar Tutor

Publisher: W. Morley & Co., 127 Regent St. W.

Plate number: W. M. & Co. 2162

Date: 1885-89, (JP).

Price: Two Shillings and Six Pence.

Pages: Title, 1-32

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Carulli, Fernando / Anon

Instructions for the Spanish Guittar

Carulli's, / Instructions for the / Spanish Guittar or French Lyre, / explained in a / Progressive Elementary Style, / with additions.

Publisher: C. Wheatstone & Co., 436 Strand. & 2 Wades Passage, Bath.

Date: 1815-16. Publisher at given address from 1815 (JP), advertised in: 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 12 Feb 1816.

Price: Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-27

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Later Edition:

The title page, publisher, date, price and number of pages are the same.

Location of copy seen: GB-Skirlaugh, Burton Constable Hall.

Note: Six pages are different from previous edition. A handwritten correction, on page 10 of the earlier copy, is engraved correctly in this edition, page 11, indicating that this is the later one.

⁸⁷⁵ Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. 52.

Carulli, Fernando / Bertoli

Complete Method for the Spanish Guitar

A Complete Method / for the / Spanish Guitar or Lyre, / Composed by / Ferdinando Carulli [sic], / Simplified & improved for the use of Beginners with / Twenty Four Lessons / by Mr. Bertoli.

Publisher: The Author. The printed address, 12 Broad St., Golden Sq., is crossed out and Lower John St., Golden Sq. is handwritten above.

Date: wm 1817.

Price: Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-22

Location of title page seen: GB-Lam, (*copy*).

Note: Title page only has been seen. Source of other information: (ES). Publication may have been later than 1817, Bertoli's age in the 1841 census was recorded as 37.⁸⁷⁶

Later Edition

A Complete Method / for the / Spanish Guitar or Lyre, / Composed by / Ferdinando Carulli / Simplified & improved for the use of Beginners with / Twenty Four Lessons / by Mr. Bertoli.

Title page the same but with the spelling of Carulli corrected. Price the same.

Publisher: Dover & Henderson, 68 Chancery Lane.

Date: wm 1827, (ES).

Price: Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages Title, Fingerboard Diagram, 1-6 (text), 1-22 (music)

Location of Copy seen: S-Sm, (*copy*).

Third Edition

Same title page as previous with 'Third Edition' added. Same publisher, price, and pages as previous with both text and music sections.

Date: wm 1828.

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Tenth Edition

Tenth Edition / A Complete Method / for the / Spanish Guitar / Composed by / Ferdinando Carulli, / Simplified & Improved for the use of Students / to which are added / Forty Four Progressive Lessons, National Airs &. / Edited Composed & arranged by / Signor Bertoli.

Publisher: W. Wybrow, 24 Rathbone Place.

Date: Early 1840s, Mention is made of the music seller Cockram of Bristol, (JP).

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: The contents and price are the same as the third edition with an added suggestion that the student should study F. Alberti's guitar songs.

Carulli, Fernando / Phipps

Method of Teaching the Spanish Guitar

The Last Edition/ of / Carulli's / Complete Method of Teaching the / Spanish Guitar, / Translated from the Original / BY / T. B. Phipps.

Publisher: R Cocks & Co., (ES).

Plate Number: 462

Date: 1828, (N&T).

Price: Four Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-12.

Location of copy seen: Private Collection.

⁸⁷⁶ 1841 census, Titchborne Street, St James's, Westminster, Public Record Office HO 107/7736/10. Available at: <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/8978/images/MDXHO107_736_737-0330> [accessed 12 August 2018].

Note: On the copy seen the publisher's details are obscured by a sticker for 'Bone & Co.'. All the pieces are taken from the fifth edition, op.241, of Carulli's *Méthode*.

Chabran, Felice

1.

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

A Complete / Set of Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar, / To which is added / A Variety of Favorite Airs adapted to that / Instrument / and most Respectfully Dedicated to / Mrs Boehm / by / F. Chabran.

Publisher: Preston, 97 Strand.

Date: c.1810, (ES).

Price: Six Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2- 32

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

2.

A New Tutor

A / New Tutor / for the / Harp & Spanish Guitar, / Containing a Progressive Selection of the most / Favorite Waltzes, / Rondos, Songs, Glees, &c.&c. /Composed by Various Authors / and Arranged by / Felice Chabran.

Publisher: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., 20 Soho Square & 7 Westmorland Str. Dublin.

Date: wm 1813.

Price: Six Shillings (five shillings written by hand in copy seen).

Pages : Title, 1-21

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: Although the harp is mentioned on the title page this tutor is for guitar only. It was later reprinted with a new title page, wm 1816, (ES).

Ciebra, Don

Hand-Book for the Guitar

Ciebra's / Hand-Book for the Guitar, / Being a / Complete and Easy Introduction to the Art of Playing upon that Popular Instrument; / With Copious Gamuts, Double and Chromatic Scales, and Harmonies; / To which is added / a Selection of Thirty Beautiful and Appropriate Melodies, / Many of which are the Exclusive Copyright of the Proprietor of the "Musical Bouquet".

Publisher: Charles Sheard, at the "Musical Bouquet" office, 192, High Holborn. Agents: E Allen, 20 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row; F Pitman, 20 Paternoster Row.

Date: 1862-64.⁸⁷⁷

Price: One Shilling.

Pages: Title, 1-23

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: This was first advertised earlier in For an earlier advertisement see: 'Advertisements', *Kentish Chronicle*, 3 March 1860. Reprinted by Charles Sheard & Co, 192 High Holborn 1890-99 (JP). Location of copy: S-Skma. (*copy*). This book may not be by either of the Ciebra brothers who probably left London in 1852. A search of digitised British newspapers revealed no reference to them performing between 1852 and 1865 which suggests that they were then no longer in England.

⁸⁷⁷ For dates of the 'Musical Bouquet' office at the given address with the named agents see: Mervyn Slatter, *The Musical Bouquet, A Study of a Music Publisher 1845-1917*. Available at: <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk>> [accessed 15 May 2016].

Corino, Dominico

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar / Containing / Exercises / and / A Selection of Favorite and / Popular Airs / Arranged by / Dominico Corino.

Publisher: Coventry & Hollier, 71 Dean Street, Soho.

Date: 1835-37. Publisher at the given address from 1835, (JP). *God Save the King* on page 22 suggests publication prior to 1837.

Price: Three Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-24

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: A later copy with the same title, with a price of two shillings, published by B. Williams, 19, Paternoster Row, E. C., published after 1869 has been located, (ES).

Cramer, Alfred F.

Guitar School

Dallas' / Guitar School / An Entirely New Method Containing / Full Description of the Instrument, / Fingerboard, Strings, Tuning etc. Rudiments / of Music and Instructions in Holding / and Playing / Scales and Lessons in all Keys / Examples and Exercises / for the / Various Effects / New and Original Studies etc.

Publisher: J. E. Dallas, 415 Strand, W.C.

Plate number: 29 (on forty-one pages)

Date: 1900. The Preface is dated.

Price: Three Shillings and Six Pence.

Pages: Title, 70

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Derwort, George Henry

New Method of Learning the Spanish Guitar

A / New Method / of Learning the / Spanish Guitar, / Including / A Representation of the Instrument / with all the Notes marked on the Fingerboard, / Also / Instructions for Counting Time, / To which are attached Scales & Preludes in the most usual Keys / with / Practical Examples in Modulation. / by / George Henry Derwort, / Professor of the Guitar.

Publisher: The Author, 49 Frith Street Soho Square.

Date: 1825. The Introduction is dated.

Price: Ten Shillings.

Pages: Title, [3], 7-35

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: A later reprint was published by the author at 84 Dean Street, with additional headings on pp. 16-19 that were retained in the corresponding pages of the second edition. Copy: GB-Cu.

Second Edition

At the top of the title page is added: Second Edition / with considerable additions. The remainder of the page is the same.

Publisher: Paine & Hopkins, 69, Cornhill.

Date: 1828-30, (ES).

Price: Ten Shillings and Six Pence.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-6, [1], 9-48

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl. (missing all after p. 48).

Note: The plates were acquired by R. Cocks & Co. and given plate number 2765 in 1836 (N&T). It was included in a Cocks catalogue of 1851.⁸⁷⁸ A later printing was made after 1873 which includes a catalogue referring to the late Emperor Napoleon the third who died in 1873. This copy, located GB-Lam, has 55 pages with the same title page and price.

⁸⁷⁸ *A Select Descriptive Catalogue, R. Cocks & Co., [1851], p. 19.*

Dore, Leon (Pseudonym used by Winner, Septimus).⁸⁷⁹

Instructions for the Guitar

Leon Dore's / Instructions / for the / Guitar. / Including the Rudiments of Music, / with Popular Examples to Perform on the Instrument, / and Songs with Easy Accompaniments.

Publisher: Marshalls Ltd. 70, Berners Street, W.

Plate number: 118

Date: 1889. Library acquisition date.

Price: One Shilling and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 3, 5-31, [1]

Location of copy seen: GB-Cu.

Later Edition / Reprint

Popular Instructions for the Guitar.

Publisher: R. Cocks.

Date: 1896. Advertised in *Banjo World*, January 1897.

Price: One Shilling and Sixpence.

Note: Not located. Marshall's copyrights were sold 1891-92, (JP). It is possible that this was a later issue of the 1889 book.

Douro, Ronaldo

Preceptor for the Spanish Guitar

A / Complete Preceptor / for the / Spanish Guitar, / Written in the most simple and familiar manner / with a view of assisting those who can- / not procure the aid of Masters - containing / the Scales and Positions fingered, / also the / readiest mode of Tuning / & a Selection of Popular / Airs and Songs, / Arranged by / Signor Ronaldo Douro.

Publisher: Metzler & Son, 105 Wardour Str.

Date: w.m. 1823.

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-24

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Duvernay, Flamini

Instruction Book for the Guitar

Instruction Book. / for / the Guitar. / Composed by / F. Duvernay. / Guitarist to the Kings Theatre. / Methode Complete / pour la Guitare / Composée par / Flamini Duvernay. / Guitariste du Theatre Royal Italien.

Publisher: The Author, 78 Newman Str, Oxford Street.

Date: 1828. Registered at Stationers' Hall, (ES).

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Title, Illustration, 2-43

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Second Edition

Same title page as previous with 'Second Edition' added at the top. The price and page number are also the same as previous.

Publisher: Johanning & Whatmore, 126 Regent Street.

Date: 1831-35, (JP).

Location of copy seen: GB- London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

⁸⁷⁹ Wepman, 'Winner, Septimus'.

Ellis, Herbert

1.

Thorough School

Ellis' / Thorough School / for the / Guitar / Containing / Complete Diagrams of / the Fingerboard / Rudiments of Music / Major and Minor / Scales / Chords illustrated by / Diagrams / Exercises for / the Right and Left / hands / the Different Styles / of Playing. / Scales and Exercises / in the Positions / A choice selection / of pieces / Duets for two / Guitars. / Together with / Special Studies / necessary to facilitate / the acquirement / of a perfect knowledge / of the instrument. / The Whole, Written and Arranged / by / Herbert J. Ellis.

Publisher: John Alvey Turner. 33, Bishopsgate St Within (Crosby Hall) E.C. and 39 Oxford Street W.

Date: 1893-94. Publisher at given address from 1893. (JP). Advertised on the back cover of *Banjo World*, January 1895.

Price: Three Shillings.

Pages: Title, Illustration, 2-70

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lbl. GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

2.

Practical School

Ellis's / Practical School / for the / Guitar. / Containing / The Rudiments of Music, Progressive Lessons & Exercises, Major & Minor Scales. / Chords Illustrated by Diagrams, / Shewing the Correct Positions for the Fingers on the Fingerboard. / Instruction in all Styles of Playing, / Together with a Choice Selection of / Solos, New & Favorite Ballads, Serenades, &c, / with Guitar Accompaniments. / Duets for Two Guitars, / Classical, Operatic & Specially Arranged Popular Melodies. / The whole Written and Arranged / by / Herbert J. Ellis. / Author of "Turner's Guitar Journal" "Thorough School for the Banjo" &c.

Publisher: John Alvey Turner, 33, Bishopsgate St. Within (Crosby Hall) E.C. and 39, Oxford St. W.

Date: 1893. Publisher at given address from 1893, (JP). Advertised on the back cover of *Banjo World*, January 1894.

Price: Two Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-63, catalogue

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lbl. GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

[Eulenstein, Karl (Charles)]

A New Method of Instruction

Publisher: (stamp replacing erased name) R&W Davis, 31 Coventry St. Haymarket.

Date: 1828.

Price: Four Shillings.

Pages: Title, 3-17

Note: Not seen. Source of information: (ES). Stenstadvold suggests that this anonymous work is likely to be by Eulenstein because of contemporary reviews and the inclusion of some arrangements by Eulenstein.⁸⁸⁰

Third Edition

A New Method of Instruction / for the / Spanish Guitar, / The Lessons original & Selected / but principally by / Carulli, Giuliani & Meissonnier.

Publisher: Johanning & Co., 122 Gt Portland Street.

Date: 1837-43, (JP).

Price: Four Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-17

Location of copy seen: F-Pn. (*copy*).

⁸⁸⁰ Stenstadvold, *Bibliography*, p. 91.

Eulenstein, Karl (Charles)

Practical Method for the Guitar

A New / Practical Method / for the / Guitar, / Composed by / C. Eulenstein, / Professor of the Guitar Bath, and Inventor of / Two Musical Instruments, the Octina and Melochord. / Op. 30.

Publisher: Leoni Lee Music Seller to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 48 Albemarle Strt.

Date: 1837-40, (ES).

Price: Six Shillings.

Pages: Title, 3-28

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: A reprint was made by Brewer & Co. after 1880, (ES).

Later Edition

Eulenstein's / Practical Method / for the / Guitar / Revised and Enlarged / with / Additional Studies and Solos / & / Songs with Guitar Accompaniments.

Publisher: John Alvey Turner, 33 Bishopsgate St., Within, E.C. & 39 Oxford St., W.

Date: 1893-1907, (JP).

Price: Three shillings.

Pages: Title, 2 - 42

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: The additional pieces include songs arranged by and a guitar duet by Frank Mott Harrison.

Fleming, Charles W.

Method for the Guitar

Fleming's / Method / for the / Guitar.

Publisher: Metzler & Co., Ltd., 40 to 43 Great Marlborough Street, London, W.

Date: 1897. Title page is dated.

Price: Two Shillings and Six Pence.

Pages: Title, [2], 3-43

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lbl. GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Forman, Edmund

Guitar Tutor

The National / Guitar Tutor / A Full and Comprehensive Work, / Containing / Exercises in the Major and Minor Keys, / Progressive Studies Practical and Theoretical, / with a Choice Selection of / Songs and Melodies with Accompaniments. / Carefully Edited and Arranged by / Edmund Forman.

Publisher: Orsborn & Tuckwood, 64, Berners St., W.

Plate number: O & T 274

Date: 1881-89, (JP).

Price: One Shilling, by post 14 Stamps.

Pages: Title, 1-32

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: It was reprinted in the 1890s by publisher Charles Tuckwood, 64, Berners St., W.
Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Green, John

Hints on the Spanish Guitar

Green's Hints, / on the / Spanish Guitar, / Being a / Preparatory Tutor, / for that Instrument / on an entirely new plan, / All Instructions being Conveyed in Practical Accompaniments to / Songs / in Progressive Classes.

Publisher: J Green, 33, Soho Square.

Date: wm 1829, (on Class B volume).

Price: Five Shillings for each of the three volumes for Classes A, B, and C.

Page count: Class A: Title, 1-3, [12]. Class B: Title, [15]. Class C: Title, [13].

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: This comprises three volumes each having the same cover with Class A, B or C handwritten in.

Hamilton, James Alexander

Spanish Guitar Tutor

D'Almaine & Co.'s / Spanish Guitar Tutor, / Containing Full and Complete Instructions, / for / Obtaining a perfect Knowledge of that Instrument, / with a Selection of / Scales, Popular Airs, &c. / Edited by / J.A. Hamilton.

Publisher: D'Almaine & Co., 20, Soho Square.

Date: 1837-40. *God Save the Queen* is included suggesting publication after the Queen's accession of 1837. Listed in D'Almaine & Co. catalogue of 1840.⁸⁸¹

Price: Two Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-24

Location of copy seen: F-Pn. (copy).

Note: A reprint dated after 1856 has been located, (ES).

Harrison, Frank Mott

A Guide to Artistic Playing

The Guitar / A Guide / to / Artistic Playing / by Frank Mott Harrison B.Mus.

Publisher: John Alvey Turner, 33 Bishopsgate Street Within EC & 39 Oxford Street, W.

Date: 1896-1907. Mention is made of Harrison's edition of Sor's *Method* published in 1896. Publisher not at these addresses after 1907, (JP).

Price: A sticker saying Six Shillings obscures the original price on the copy seen.

Pages: Title, 1-66

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: Bone states that it was published by Cocks, if correct this would date it before 1898 when Cocks's copyrights were auctioned, (JP).⁸⁸² However, Bone may have been mistaken because it was not listed in the sale catalogue.⁸⁸³

Hucke, George H.

Universal Tutor for the Guitar

Turner's / Universal Tutor / for the / Guitar / Containing / the Requisite Diagrams of Chords / with / Instructions and Studies / & a Good Variety of / Popular Melodies Easily Arranged / as Guitar Solos / and / Duets for Guitar and Pianoforte / the Whole Compiled by / George H. Hucke.

Publisher: John Alvey Turner, 33, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C., & 39, Oxford Street, W.

Date: 1893-94. Publisher at given address from 1893, (JP). Advertised on the back cover of *Banjo World*, January 1895.

Price: One Shilling.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-27

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

James

James's Catechism

Reference: Listed on the back cover of Aguado's *Simple Method* of 1837.

Price: One Shilling.

Note: Not located.

⁸⁸¹ *Messrs. D'Almaine and Co.'s Catalogue of Elementary Works*. [1840], p. 23.

⁸⁸² Bone, *Guitar and Mandolin*, p.162.

⁸⁸³ *Catalogue of the Musical Copyrights, Engraved Music Plates, Stereos and Manuscripts of Messrs. Robert Cocks & Co.* (London: Puttick & Simpson, 1898)

Jauralde, Nicario

Complete Preceptor for the Spanish Guitar

A / Complete Preceptor / for the / Spanish Guitar, / Composed and Respectfully Dedicated, by Permission to / Miss Caroline Louisa Hubbuck, / By / N. Jauralde. / Professor of the above Instrument.

Publisher: The Author, 15, Finsbury Str, Finsbury Square.

Date: 1828 registered at Stationers' Hall, (ES).

Price: Eight Shillings.

Pages: Title, First part (text): [2], 4-14; Second part (music): [1], 1-22

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Later Edition

Title page the same.

Publisher: Joseph Williams, 123 Cheapside.

Date: Publisher's address indicates 1845-1868, (JP). However, the inclusion of *God Save the King* would indicate that this extended edition may have been published before Queen Victoria's accession in 1837.

Price: Six Shillings.

Pages: Second part (music): Title, [1], 1- 34

Locations of copies seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama. GB-Lbl.

Note: Second part only.

Journet, H.

Tutor for the Guitar

Tutor / for the / Guitar / (Copyright) / by / H. Journet / A New Simple and Easy Method / to attain Proficiency Rapidly / Without a Master.

Publisher: H. Journet, 43, Tottenham Court Road, London W.

Date: 1870-97. Publisher at given address from 1870, (JP), copy seen has library acquisition date of 1897.

Price: One shilling and six pence.

Pages: Title, 1-29

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lbl. GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Kirkman, Mrs. Joseph

Method for the Guitar

Improved Method / for the / Guitar, / Designed to Facilitate the Progress of the / Pupil / and to Diminish the Labour of the / Teacher.

Publisher: The Author, 3, Soho Square.

Date: The cover states that the book is available from Chappell, 50 New Bond Street and Cramer & Co 201 Regent Street only. These suggest 1830-35 (JP).

Price: Twelve shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-43

Location of copy seen: Eire-Dam. (copy).

Luigi, A

Tutor for the Guitar

Beal & Co's. / Improved Modern Tutor / for the / Guitar

Publisher: Beal & Co., 16 Oxford Circus Avenue, 231, Oxford Street W.

Date: 1888-90. Publisher at given addresses from 1888, (JP). This copy has library acquisition date of 1890.

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-35

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Luigi, Giovanni

1.

Instruction Book for the Guitar

Luigi's / New Instruction Book, / for / the Guitar , / being the only work / in which the Author has given his Method of / Tuning the Instrument / without the Aid of a / Musical Ear; / In addition to which are added / Scales, Chords & Original Melodies, / Selected from various Nations, / The whole Composed, Adapted & Dedicated to / Giulio Regondi, / (By whom it is approved & Adopted.) / by his Friend / G. Luigi

Publisher: E. Ransford, Charles Str. Soho Square.

Date: 1842. Letter of dedication printed inside is dated.

Plate number: 196

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, Letter of dedication, 1-3, 1-27

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Later Edition

Revised Edition with Appendix / Luigi's / Instruction Book / for the / Guitar.

Publisher: J. & J. Hopkinson, 34, 35 & 36 Margaret Street.

Date: 1892-94, (JP).

Price: Two shillings and sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-3, 1-34

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: Very little was changed, extra pieces in the appendix were added. It was later reprinted, with a price of two shillings, by Strickland Brothers who took over the publishing catalogue of J. & J. Hopkinson in 1894, (JP). Copy GB-Lbl.

2.

Instruction Book for the Guitar

Chappell's / Popular Instruction Book / for the / Guitar.

Publisher: Chappell & Co., 49 & 50 New Bond Street.

Plate number: 10687

Date: 1857-59. Chappell had premises at 49 Bond Street from 1857, (JP). The British Library copy has an acquisition date of 1859.

Price: Eighteen Pence.

Pages: Title, 1-40

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: It was later sold as *Metzler & Co.'s Tutor for the Guitar*. Copy dated after 1880, with an advertisement listing an arrangement of a piece from Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*, (Copy: GB-Ob). George Metzler with Frank Chappell ran Metzler & Co. from 1866⁸⁸⁴ which was probably when the copyright was taken over by Metzler. A later reprint dated 1920 has also been seen, (Private collection).

Marescot, Charles de

1.

Instructions for the Guitar

Instructions / for / the Guitar / In which all the Rules are Explained in a Clear / and Concise Manner rendering the Performance / in the Instrument easy to be attained by every / Learner in a few Lessons.

Publisher: H. Falkner, 3 Old Bond Street.

Date: 1825-37 (ES).

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1 - 25

Location of copy seen: US-NYp. (copy).

⁸⁸⁴ Humphries, C., and W. Smith *Music Publishing in the British Isles* 2nd ed (Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1970), p. 232.

2.

Instructions for the Guitar

Instructions for the Guitar, / Containing a Description of / The Key Board, / the method of / Tuning the Instrument, / A Series of / Progressive Lessons, / Consisting of / Scales, Arpeggios Rondos, Waltzes, Marches, Airs with Variations &c / with a new & clear explanation of the best manner of producing the / Harmonic Sounds, / forming altogether the most simple & explanatory system hitherto published.

Publisher: Metzler & Co., 37 Great Marlborough Street.

Date: 1842. The publisher was at the given address from that year, (JP) and published the book 'for the Proprietors' which suggests Marescot was still alive, he died in 1842.⁸⁸⁵

Price: Three shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-25

Location of copy seen: GB-Cromer, Felbrigg Hall (National Trust).

Martinez, Antonio

Metodo

Metodo, / para aprender a tocar la / Guitarra, / que contiene los rudimentos de la Musica, / el Modode de Tener y Acordar este Instrumento, / ampliamente explicado y las Escalas en todos los Tonos Mayores y Menores. / con varias lecciones y Ayres agradables, / Compuesto y dedicado á / Dn Sixto Perez.

Publisher: Clementi & Co.

Plate number: 3418

Date: 1830. (N&T).

Price: Siete Chelines [*sic*].

Pages: Title, 1-25

Location of copy seen: E-Mn. (*copy*).

May, G. T.

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Date: Advertised in *Morning Post*, 11 December 1826.

Note: Not seen. Source of information: Page.⁸⁸⁶

New Edition

New Edition / May's / Instructions for the / Spanish Guitar.

Publisher: I. Willis & Co. Royal Musical Repository, 55 St. James's Str. and 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin.

Publisher's Identification: Royal Musical Repository 29.

Date: 1829-32. The publisher was at the given addresses from 1829, (JP). The fifth edition was advertised in 1832.

Price: Five shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-25

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: Pages 11-14 missing.

Fifth Edition

Date: 1832. See 'Advertisements', *The Age*, 1 July 1832, p. 209.

Note: Not located.

Sixth Edition

Sixth Edition / May's / Instructions for the / Spanish Guitar.

Publisher: I Willis, Royal Musical Depository. 119 New Bond Street.

⁸⁸⁵ Marescot's dates are given in: Damián Martín, 'The Guitarist behind La Guitaromanie: Charles De Marescot', *Soundboard Scholar* 4 (2018), 2-16.

⁸⁸⁶ Page, *Guitar in Georgian England*, p. 272.

Publisher's Identification: Royal Musical Depository 29 with additional plate number, 54.
Date: 1849-62, (JP).
Price: Five Shillings.
Pages: Title, 2-25
Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Medina, Don Octavio Lorenzo

New Instructions

New Instructions for the / Spanish / Guitar, / To which is added / A / Selection of the most / Favorite Airs.

Publisher: Mayhew & C., 17 Old Bond Street.

Date: 1822-30. Publisher at that address, (JP).

Price: Two shillings and sixpence.

Page count: Title, 1-24

Location of copy seen: US - Northridge, California State University. (*copy*)

Molina, F. V.

The Spanish Lyre

Publisher: The author.

Date: wm 1823.

Price: Four shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-21

Note: Not seen. Source of information: (ES).

Later Edition

The Spanish Lyre / A New Publication / Exhibiting the most Easy and Expeditious Method / for learning The Guitar / Together with a Select number of Spanish Songs, / by different Authors. / Arranged and Dedicated by permission to / Her Grace the Duchess of Leinster. / by Don F. V. Molina, Officer in the Spanish Army.

Publisher: Metzler & Son, 105 Wardour St and Birchall & Co. 140 New Bond Street.

Date: wm 1827.

Price: Ten shillings and sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-17, 1-9, 1-5.

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Mollino, J.

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar.

Publisher: Clementi, Collard and Collard.

Date: 1829. See 'Advertisement', *The Harmonicon*, September 1829.

Pages: Title, 1-22

Note: Not seen. Source of information: (ES).

Muscarelli, G.

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar, / To which are added a few / Songs and Airs, / Arranged as Progressive Lessons,

Publisher: Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street & 67 Conduit Street.

Plate number: 3968

Date: pn suggests 1846, (N&T). However the publisher was at the given addresses 1835-44, (JP), which may suggest a date of 1844 or before, (ES).

Price: Six shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-20

Location of copy seen: GB-Lam. (*copy*).

Nava, Antonio

1.

Tutor for French Guitar

Tutor / for / French Guitar / by / Antonio Nava / Edited by Henry Stevens

Publisher: Ricordi's Editions, London, 265, Regent Street, W. V. Durdilly & Cie., - Boulevard, 11 Paris.

Plate number: 48096

Date: 1882, from plate number.⁸⁸⁷

Price: Nine shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-48

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: This is an English translation of the *Metodo Completo*, second edition, published by Ricordi in 1858 (pn 30305), but excluding an introductory section on the rudiments of music by Savinelli.⁸⁸⁸ The first edition was published by Ricordi in 1812, (ES).⁸⁸⁹

2.

Tutor for the French Guitar

TUTOR / FOR THE / French Guitar / BY / ANTONIO NAVA / Edited by HENRY STEVENS and revised by / F. SACCHI / Instructor by special appointment to T. R. H. the Princesses Victoria and Maud of Wales. / Part 1

Publisher: G. Ricordi & Co. 265, Regent Street, London, W.

Plate number: 95011

Date: 1892.

Price: One shilling.

Pages: Title, 1-28

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: This is largely the first part of the 1858 book. The second part was published separately with the same plate number.

Nice, William (pseudonym used by Heath, John).⁸⁹⁰

1.

The Excelsior Guitar Tutor

Reference: See 'Advertisement', *Musical Times*, 1 February 1891, p. 121.

Price: Five Shillings.

Note: Not located.

2.

Guitar School

W. Nice / Guitar School / Containing / Major / and Minor / Scales, / Easy and / Effective / Pieces, / Together / with a / Grand / Selection / of Songs / easily / arranged.

Publisher: Chas. Sheard & Co., 192, High Holborn.

⁸⁸⁷ Ricordi plate numbers are listed in 'Ricordi'. Available at: <<http://imslp.org/wiki/Ricordi>> [accessed 23 June 2016].

⁸⁸⁸ Antonio Nava and A. Savinelli, *Metodo Completo per Chitarra Francese coll'aggiunta delle Prime Nozioni Musicali*, 2nd edn (Milan: Ricordi, [1858]).

⁸⁸⁹ The term 'Chitarra Francese' was used in Italy at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries to describe the instrument with five or six single strings, thus distinguishing it from the 'Chitarra Spagnola' of five courses. Heck, 'Vogue for the *Chitarra Francese*'.

⁸⁹⁰ Gammie. I., *19th Century Guitar Songs An Idiosyncratic Survey* (St. Albans: Corda Music, 2017), p. 133.

Date: 1892-99. The song *After the Ball* by C K Harris written in 1892 is included.⁸⁹¹
Publisher no longer at given address after 1899, (JP).

Price: Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-31

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Nüske, John Abraham

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar / Explaining in an Easy manner / The Art of Playing upon that Instrument, / both as an Accompaniment for the / Voice, and as a Solo Instrument, / Illustrated with / Arpeggios in the Principal Keys, / together with a Selection of / Twenty-Seven Popular Airs. / Composed, Arranged & Dedicated, / to his much esteemed Friend & Pupil / Mrs. Henry de la Chaumette.

Publisher: R. Cocks & Co. 20 Princes Str. Hanover Sq.

Plate number: 1147

Date: 1832, (N&T).

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-15

Location of copy seen: Eire-Dam. (*copy*).

Pelzer, Catharina Josepha

(See Pratten for publications after her marriage of September 1854).

Instructions for the Guitar Tuned in E Major

Reference: Listed in the catalogue at the back of: Catharina Pelzer, *Recollections of Scotland, Six Favorite Scotch Songs* (London: Rudall, Rose & Carte, n.d.)

Date: Before her marriage of 1854.

Price: Three Shillings and sixpence.

Note: Not located.

Pelzer, Ferdinand

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar. / Written and Dedicated to / His Friends / Captain G. H. Phillips / And / John Hodgson Esq.

Publisher: S Chappell, 50 New Bond Street.

Date: 1830. For an announcement of its imminent publication see 'Melanges of the Month', *La Belle Assemblée*, January 1830, pp. 44-45 (p. 44).

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Title, 4-59

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Second Edition

Second Edition / of / Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar.

The rest of the wording on the title page remains the same.

Publisher: S Chappell, 50 New Bond Street.

Date: 1833. This edition removed pieces by Horetzky and Nüske. Heck noted a possible antagonism between Horetzky and the editor of *The Giulianiad*, Pelzer, that developed in 1833. This suggests that year as the year of publication of this second edition.⁸⁹²

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Title, 4-59

Locations of copies seen: GB- Private Collection. GB-Lam. S-Skma. (*copy*).

⁸⁹¹ Gammond, *Music Hall*, p. 19.

⁸⁹² Thomas Heck, 'Horetzky e la Giulianiad', *Il Fronimo*, 3:12 (1975), 23-26.

Later Reprint

First Part / of / Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar, / Written by / Ferdinand Pelzer, / Edited & Revised by his / Daughter / Madame Giulia Pelzer. / Professor of the Guitar.

Publisher: The Author, 2, Southampton Street, Bloomsbury Square.

Date: 1872-89. Giulia Pelzer moved to Southampton Street in 1872.⁸⁹³ For an advertisement for the book see 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 30 April 1889.

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-24

Location of copy seen: GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Note: This comprises the first part of the second edition.

Phipps, T Bloomer

Guida di Chitarra

Guida di Chitarra, or a First Instruction Book for the Guitar, with Plates.

Reference: See 'Advertisements', *The Age*, 31 May 1835, p. 169.

Price: Seven Shillings.

Note: Not located.

Later Edition / Reprint

Guida di Chitarra, / or Complete / Book of Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar / Shewing by / Graphic Illustrations / the different modes of / Striking the Chords / in the / Spanish & Italian Styles / the beats of the / Bolera, Fandango & Guaracha, / with / Exercises in Vocal Accompaniments / Arpeggios, Chords, Cadences & Modulations, / to which are added / Explanatory Notes on Fingering, Tone / and every thing requisite to form / A Good Player, / upon just Principles of the Art / founded on / Rules of the Best Masters. / by / T. Bloomer Phipps. / Professor of the Guitar.

Publisher: Z. T. Purday, 45, High Holborn.

Date: 1849-60. A catalogue of piano works includes Pearson's *Familiar Guide to the Piano*. In this book is the song *Trab trab trab* as sung by Jetty Treffz. She first came to London in 1849 and performed the song the same year.⁸⁹⁴ The publisher stopped trading in 1860. (JP).

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-24, Illustration

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Note: It is possible that this was a later printing of the earlier book with the addition of the piano music catalogue.

It was reprinted by Brewer & Co., (1860-61), who may have acquired the copyright when Purday's stock was auctioned in 1860, (JP). The price fell to four shillings. Copy: GB-Lbl.

Plumbridge, William H.

Tutor for the Guitar

Dallas' / Shilling Tutor / for the / Guitar / Containing / Complete Diagram of the Fingerboard, / the Rudiments of Music, / Full Instructions for Playing of Both Hands, / Major and Minor Scales, / Chords and Diagrams in the Different Keys, / Lessons in the Positions and all the Various Styles and Effects, / Together with a / Choice Selection of Solos

Publisher: J. E. Dallas, 415, Strand.

Date: 1897. For an announcement of its publication in July 1897 see 'Mr W. H. Plumbridge', *Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 1 July 1897, p. 2313.

⁸⁹³ Recorded in Rate books for 1872. Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre, Microfilm UTAH196.

⁸⁹⁴ 'Mdlle. Jetty Treffz', *Musical World* 5 May 1849, p. 273. 'Advertisements' *Musical World*, 10 Nov 1849, p. 720.

Price: One Shilling.

Pages: [1], 2-40

Location of copy seen: GB - Private collection.

Pratten, Catharina Josepha (Madame Sidney Pratten)

(See Pelzer for her publication before her marriage of September 1854).

1.

Instructions for the Guitar

Third Edition

Third Edition / Instructions / for the / Guitar / Tuned in E Major. / For the use of her Pupils.

Publisher: C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond St.

Date: 1854-61. After her marriage of 1854, the copy seen has a library acquisition date of 1861.

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-15

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Enlarged Edition

New & Enlarged Edition. / Madame R. Sidney Pratten's / Instructions / for the / Guitar, / Tuned in E Major. / For the Use of Her Pupils.

Publisher: the Author at her residence, 38 Welbeck St., Cavendish Sq., W.

Date: 1861. The copy seen has a wrapper giving the author's address 24 Holles St. suggesting the date of her move from Holles St. to Welbeck St. in 1861.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 1-49, [1]

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Tenth Edition

10 th Edition / Madame R. Sidney Pratten's / Instructions / for the / Guitar / Tuned in E Major. / For the Use of Her Pupils.

Publisher: The Author, Published at Her Residence, 22A Dorset Street, Portman Sq. W.

Date: 1872-77. The author moved to the given address in 1872. She started advertising her tuition of Princess Louise in 1877, this book does not mention the Princess.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 1-58

Locations of copies seen: GB-Ob (missing p.1), GB-Lbl. GB-Cu.

Note: The '10th' on the title page is handwritten over a printed '5' on all copies.

Later Edition

As used by / Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise / and / Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice / Madame R. Sidney Pratten's / Instructions / for the / Guitar, / Tuned in E Major. / For the Use of Her Pupils.

Publisher: The Author, Published at Her Residence, 22A Dorset Street, Portman Sq. W.

Date: After 1877, when Pratten first mentioned Princess Louise in her advertisements.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: title, [1], 1-60

Location of copy seen: GB-Lcm.

Note: A second copy seen has additions. They include drawings of hands by Fred Cotman dated 1883, it refers to Catharina's Guitar Tutor split into two cheaper volumes and has two other extra pages. Location of copy seen: GB-Lam.

2.

Guitar Tutor / School

Madame Pratten's New Guitar Tutor.

Publisher: Boosey and Sons.

Date: 1857, See 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 21 March 1857, p. 191.

Price: Eight Shillings.

Notes: Not located.

This and the next are almost certainly cheaper versions of her 'Guitar School'. It is possible that they had fewer pages than the 1859 copy seen.

Later Edition

A New Guitar Method by Madame Sydney [sic] Pratten.

Publisher: Boosey and Sons.

Date: 1857, See 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 9 May 1857, p. 304.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Note: Not located.

Later Edition

Madame R. Sidney Pratten's / Guitar School, / Containing / Two Hundred & Thirty Six Examples. / including / Progressive Lessons & Fourteen Songs in various Keys. / Diagram of the Notes on the Fingerboard. / Explanation of the various peculiarities & beauties of the Instrument, / Scales in Different Keys in Thirds, Sixths, Octaves & Tenths. / with their Chords and Arpeggios. / Exercises for the Right and Left Hands. / Remarks on Touch, Tone & Expression. / with Diagram, shewing the proper position of the Right Hand / a Lithographic Frontispiece shewing the manner of / Holding the Guitar / Diagrams of Harmonics, / Shewing the various ways of production. / Concluding with a / Choice Selection of Pieces, / from the Writings of the Most Approved Composers.

Publisher: Boosey & Sons, Musical Library, 28, Holles Street.

Date: 1859, See 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 15 October 1859.

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Illustration, Title, 1-79

Location of copy seen: GB-Ob.

Later Edition

Madame Pratten's / Popular / Instruction Book, / for the / Guitar, / (Abridged from Her Celebrated Guitar-School) / Containing a large Collection / of / Lessons, Examples, Exercises, / and / Popular Songs.

Publisher: Boosey & Sons, Musical Library, 28 Holles Street.

Date: 1860. See 'Advertisements', *Musical World*, 14 April 1860, p. 244.

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-45

Location of copy seen: GB-Ouf.

Note: This comprises the first part of her *Guitar School*.

Later Edition

Madame R Sidney Pratten's / Guitar Tutor, /Containing / A Large Selection of Examples. / including / Progressive Lessons & Songs in various Keys, / Diagram of the Notes on the Fingerboard, / Explanation of the various peculiarities & beauties of the Instrument, / Scales in Different Keys in Thirds, Sixths, Octaves & Tenths, / with their Chords and Arpeggios. / Exercises for the Right & Left Hands. / Remarks on Touch, Tone & Expression. / with Diagram shewing the proper position of the Right Hand / also / Diagrams of Harmonics, / Shewing the various ways of production. / The Whole Interspersed with a / Choice Selection of Pieces, / from the Writings of the Most Approved Composers.

Publisher: Boosey & Co., 295 Regent Street, W.

Date: 1874-82. Boosey & Co. moved to the given address in 1874 (JP). The British Library copy seen is stamped with an acquisition date of 1882.

Price: Twelve Shillings.

Pages: Illustration, Title, 1-79

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: The text is the same as the 1859 'Guitar School', but with references to songs in the *Troubadour du Jour* removed.

Later Editions

Title on wrapper only: Part 1 / Madame Pratten's / Popular Instruction Book / for the / Guitar / in Two Parts

Title page as for Guitar Tutor above with added heading: Part-1.

Publisher: Boosey & Co., 295 Regent Street W.

Date: Before 1895, the date written on the copy in the Royal Academy of Music, London.

Price: Two Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-45

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lam, GB- Private Collection.

Note: This comprises the first part of her *Guitar Tutor*. The remaining second part was published separately as Part-2.

3.

Learning the Guitar Simplified

Learning / The Guitar / Simplified / by / Mme. Sidney Pratten / Forming a Companion to her celebrated Guitar School, / Consisting of Diagrams / of the / Scales & Chords of the principal Major & Minor Keys / Required for Beginners for Playing Accompaniments to Songs. / Carefully Fingered & to each Key is added a / Prelude, Exercise, or Pleasing Piece & Song. / and the / Various Chords in the different Positions Fingered / and / Illustrated by Diagrams. / The Diagrams of the finger board being marked for each Key / will form a Reference for the Advanced Student / in Learning New Pieces & Finding Various Positions.

Publisher: The Author, 22A Dorset Street, Portman Square, London, W.

Date: Registered at Stationers' Hall 22 June 1874.⁸⁹⁵ Date given in register of first publication 20 June 1874.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-43

Location of copy seen: GB-Ob.

Second Edition

Second Edition / as used by / Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise / Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. / Learning / the Guitar / Simplified / by / Mme Sidney Pratten, / Forming a Companion to her Celebrated Guitar School, / Consisting of Diagrams / of the / Scales & Chords of the principal Major & Minor Keys / Required for Beginners for Playing Accompaniments to Songs. / Carefully Fingered & to each Key is added a / Prelude, Exercise, or Pleasing Piece & Song, / and the / Various Chords in the different Positions Fingered / and / Illustrated by Diagrams.

Publisher: The Author, 22A Dorset Street, Portman Square, London, W.

Date: Registered at Stationers' Hall 23 February 1880.⁸⁹⁶ Date given in register of first publication 21 February 1880.

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Illustration, Title, [1], 2-56

Location of copy seen: GB-Ob.

Note: In the copy seen two extra loose pages were leafed in between pages 8 and 9, One of these became page 9A in the seventh edition.

Seventh Edition

Seventh Edition Enlarged

Remainder of title page, publisher and price as in second edition.

⁸⁹⁵ National Archives, Records of the Copyright Office, Stationers' Company, COPY3/22.

⁸⁹⁶ National Archives, Records of the Copyright Office, Stationers' Company, COPY3/27.

Date: Possibly just before 1883. Drawings of the author's hands for this book by Fred Cotman, dated 1883, were leafed but not sewn into the copy seen.

Page count: Title, [1], 2-63, Catalogue, 2 pages Illustrations, Extra pages numbered 8A, 9A⁸⁹⁷

Location of copy seen: GB-Lam.

Eighth Edition

Eighth Edition Enlarged & Revised

Remainder of title page, publisher and price as in second edition.

Date: After 1883, the dated hand drawings by Fred Cotman are sewn in.

Pages: Title, 2-63, 2 pages illustrations, Extra pages numbered 8A, 9A

Location of copy seen: GB-Lam. (*copy*).

Ninth Edition

Ninth Edition, Enlarged & Revised

Remainder of title page, publisher and price as in second edition.

Date: 1890. A leaflet in copy seen refers to Rockstro's *Treatise on the Flute* of 1890 as just published.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-62, [1], 2 pages Illustrations, Extra pages numbered 8A, 9A

Location of copy seen: Private collection.

Tenth Edition

Tenth Edition, Enlarged & Revised

Remainder of title page, publisher and price as in second edition.

Date: 1893. This is the library acquisition date of the copy seen and is the same year that 'tenth edition' was first added to the author's teaching advertisements in the *Morning Post*.

Pages: Title, 2 pages Illustrations, [1], 2-62, [1]. Extra pages numbered 8A, 9A, 10A, 10B, 28A, 28B

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Eleventh Edition

Eleventh Edition, Enlarged & Revised.

Remainder of title page, publisher and price as in second edition.

Date: 1894. Advertised in *The 'Jo* April 1894.

Pages: Title, 2-62, [1] . 2 pages Illustrations, Extra pages numbered 8A 9A 10A 10B 28A 28B

Location of copy seen: Australia- Canberra, National Library of Australia. (*copy*).

Thirteenth Edition

Thirteenth Edition, Enlarged & Revised / as used by / Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise, / Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. / Learning / The Guitar / Simplified / by / Mme Sidney Pratten, (Catharina Josepha Pratten.) / Forming a Companion to her celebrated Guitar School)

Publisher: Joseph Williams, Ltd., 32 Great Portland Street, W. and Madame Giulia Pelzer, 2 Southampton Street, Bloomsbury Square.

Date: 1897. See 'Advertisements', *The Observer*, 12 September 1897. The publisher's address was given as Berners St suggesting publication the year of the publisher's move, (JP).

Price: Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 2-63, 2 pages Illustrations, Extra pages numbered 8A 9A 10A 10B 28A 28B

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lam, GB- Private Collection.

⁸⁹⁷ The extra pages were added after the page number that they refer to, thus 8A is after page 8 and before page 9.

Note: No copy of a twelfth edition has been found. As the the author was advertising the eleventh at the time of her death and the thirteenth was published only two years later it is likely that there was no twelfth.

Prucilli, Paulus (pseudonym used by Keith, Robert William)⁸⁹⁸

Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar

Rudiments / for the / Spanish Guitar, / Illustrated / In a Plain and Concise Manner / with / A Variety of Exercises, / for forming the Hands, / and the / Fingering Marked, / to which is added several / Appropriate Exercises, / and a / Selection of the / most Favorite Airs,

Publisher: R. W. Keith, 131 Cheapside.

Date: 1822-29, (JP).

Price: Five Shillings. Also available separately: Diagram of Guitar Fingerboard page (One Shilling and Six Pence) and Prucilli's Harmonic Scale page (One Shilling).

Pages: Title, 1-21, Fingerboard diagram

Location of copy seen: GB-Cu.

Note: A copy from the publisher J Corsby has also been located c. 1830 (ES). A reprint was produced 1832-46 (JP), the publisher was Keith Prowse & Co. 48 Cheapside. The prices remained the same except for the Diagram of the Guitar Fingerboard which fell to one shilling. Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Later Edition

Same title page.

Publisher: Keith Prowse & Co. 48 Cheapside. An added sticker says Prowse, 13 Hanway Street, Oxford Street, London.

Date: 1835-46 taking the two addresses into account, (JP).

Price: Six Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-22, [2].

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: Page 1 missing.

Redmond, Walter

Guitar Tutor

Francis & Day's / Guitar Tutor / containing / The Rudiments of Music; / Instructions in Holding and Tuning the Instrument; Preliminary / and Progressive Exercises in all Keys and Positions; Chords / and Scales, a Full Size Diagram of the Instrument with the Frets / and Complete Scale; also Full Explanations as to the use of / the Capotasto, and a Thorough Description of Everything / Appertaining to the Guitar including the Arpeggio, the Staccato, / the Vibration Slur, the Snap-pull, the Glissé or *Sour-porte*, / the Vibrato, the Rasp, the Spanish Twirl, the Tremolo, Harmonics, / the Drum Effects, Double Doigter, Harmonics, and all other / Styles and Embellishments, Together with a Collection of / New Original Melodies

Publisher: Francis, Day & Hunter, 195 Oxford Street, W.

Date: 1894. Announcement in *The Jo*, February 1894 p. 5.

Price: One Shilling and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, Fingerboard diagram, [1], 2-48

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Rodwell, George Herbert

The Guitar

Whittaker's Handbooks / of / Musical Instruction. / The Guitar.

Publisher: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane.

⁸⁹⁸ L. M. Middleton and David Golby, 'Keith, Robert William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15273>> [accessed 23 March 2020]

Date: 1845-46. Advertised in *John Bull*, 10 January 1846.

Price: One Shilling.

Pages: Title, [2], 4-24

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Rosquellas, Pablo

Tutor for the Spanish Guitar

A / Complete Tutor / for the / Spanish Guitar / Containing in addition to the / fingered Lessons & Exercises, / Spanish, Italian & English Songs, / With Several / National Airs, / Dedicated / with the greatest respect to / Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte / of Wales

Publisher: Clementi & Comp., 26 Cheapside.

Date: 1813. w.m. on British Library copy.

Price: No visible price on seen copies. Eight Shillings in the 1823 Clementi.⁸⁹⁹

Pages: Title, [1], 1-38

Locations of copies seen: Private Collection. GB-Lbl (missing title, 37, 38). GB-London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama (missing title, introduction). Eire-Dam (missing introduction, 1, 11, 12, 19, 20) (*copy*).

Note: All the eight songs in the second part of the book are listed separately in the Clementi 1823 catalogue.

Later Edition

Publisher: Collard & Collard.

Date: 1830-34.

Note: Not seen. The songs were replaced. Source of information: ES. The catalogue on the back of Aguado, *Simple Method*, includes 'Rosquilla's Method for the Spanish Guitar, in the Spanish Language.' with a price of six shillings.

Rudolphus, C

Method for the Spanish Guitar

Wessel & Co.s Edition / of a / Short and Comprehensive / Method / for the / Spanish Guitar, / calculated for / Self-Instruction. / Compiled from the Works of / Bathioli, Carulli, Aguado, Sor, / and / Giuliani

Publisher: Wessel & Co., 6 Frith Street, Soho Square.

Plate number: W & Co. No. 1234

Date: 1836. 'Weekly List of New Music', *Musical World*, 29 April 1836, p. 115.

Price: Seven Shillings.

Pages: Title, catalogue, 2-33

Location of copy seen: GB - London, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.

Sagrini, Luigi

Guide to the Guitar

A Guide to the Guitar, / Easy and Agreeable / Instruction. / containing / The First Rudiments of Music. / Illustrated by various / Scales, Preludes tasteful Exercises & Melodies / by / Luigi Sagrini.

Publisher: R. Addison & Co., 210 Regent Street.

Plate number: 2603

Date: 1848-50, (JP).

Price: Four Shillings

Pages: Title, 3-16

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

⁸⁹⁹ *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed by Clementi, Collard & Collard* (London: Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823), p. 73

Note: An appendix with preludes, exercises and airs for advanced pupils was published at the same time with the same plate number.

Shand, Ernest

Method for the Guitar

Barnes & / Mullins's / Improved / Method / for the / Guitar / op. 100

Publisher: Barnes & Mullins, Bournemouth, W.

Date: 1896. The Preface is dated.

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages, Title, [3], 4-48, [13]

Locations of copies seen: GB-Lbl. GB-Ouf.

Second Edition⁹⁰⁰

The Title page is the same with words Second Edition added. Publisher and Price are the same.

Date: 1898. See 'Advertisement', *The Troubadour*, August 1898, p. 133.

Pages: Title, [4], 4-70, Index, Catalogue

Location of copy seen: US - Northridge, California State University. (*copy*).

Note: Elementary exercises were added which Appleby claimed were by Froane,⁹⁰¹ however, Appleby may have been mistaken. In the first edition Shand acknowledged that Froane had contributed twenty-two examples. In the second edition Shand said that he himself had added twenty-three new exercises.

Sola, Charles Michael

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

Sola's / Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar / Dedicated by Permission to / His Royal Highness / The Duke of Sussex

Publisher: Chappell & Co. No. 50 New Bond Street.

Plate number: 1450

Date: 1820, (N&T).

Price: Five Shillings.

Pages: Title, 1-27

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: It was reprinted in 1820s and 1830s, (ES). One with a wrapper dated 1834 has been seen, GB-Ob. A later reprint, dated 1897-90, (JP) with Chappell's additional premises at 15 Poultry listed on the cover, has new title page which excludes the picture of a girl in earlier copies, price six shillings, Private Collection, missing pages 13-14.

Sor, Ferdinand

Method for the Spanish Guitar

Method / for / the Spanish Guitar, / by / Ferdinand Sor. / Translated from the Original / by / A. Merrick.

Publisher: R. Cocks & Co., 20, Princes-Street, Hanover-Square.

Plate number: 1182 (on music pages)

Date: 1832, (N&T).

Price: One Guinea. On the copy seen this was crossed out and twelve shillings was written in.

Pages: Title, [4], 6-48, I-XLII

Location of copy seen: E-Mn. (*copy*).

⁹⁰⁰ Third and fourth editions were published after 1900.

⁹⁰¹ Wilfrid Appleby, 'The Spanish Guitar', *B.M.G.*, October 1947, p. 7.

Later Edition

Method / for the / Guitar / by / Ferdinand Sor / (Originally translated from the Spanish by A. Merrick). / Condensed, Re-written, and Edited, by / Frank Mott Harrison. / To which is added a / Portrait and Biographical Sketch of the Author; his Twenty-Four Exercises, / and his Twenty-Four Studies for the Guitar.

Publisher: Robert Cocks & Co., 6, New Burlington Street, W.

Plate number: 20,265 (on music pages)

Date: 1896. The Preface is dated.

Price: Four Shillings.

Pages: Illustration, Title, iii-vii, [1], 2-88

Location of copy seen: S-Skma. (*copy*).

Sorrini

Spanish Guitar Tutor

Sorrini's / Spanish Guitar / Tutor

Publisher: Hutchings & Romer, 9, Conduit Street, Regent Street, W.

Plate number: H & R 2854

Date: 1866-69. Publisher at this address from 1866. JP. The seen copy is stamped with an acquisition date of 1869.

Price: Seven Shillings and Six Pence.

Pages: Title, 1-37

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Note: This copy may be a reprint of an earlier edition, (ES).

Sosson, Alexander

Instruction Book for the Spanish Guitar

A Complete / Instruction Book / for the / Spanish Guitar, / With Rules to facilitate a Knowledge of that / Elegant Instrument, / Progressive Lessons, Duets, & Songs, / Written and Arranged by / Alexander Sosson. / Professor of the Guitar.

Publisher: Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square.

Date: 1827. See 'Advertisement', *The Harmonicon*, March 1827.

Price: Six Shillings.

Pages: Title, 2-35.

Location of copy seen: GB-Lbl.

Sperati, B.

Instructions for the Spanish Guitar

New and Complete / Instructions / for the / Spanish Guitar / with Six Strings; / Containing the best method to play upon it, a variety of Scales & the finger / Board with all the intervals & also a general Table of the keys with Chords; / several Progressive Lessons, Arpeggios, Modulations, Solos, Duettinos for / two Guitars etc. being No. 1 of the Periodical Collection for the Spanish Guitar, Composed / By / B. Sperati.

Publisher: Monzani & Cimador, No 2. Pall Mall, and to be had of the author, 207 Piccadilly.

Date: Advertised as just published, See 'Advertisements', *Morning Post*, 9 April 1802.

Price: Three Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, [1], 1-10

Location of copy seen: Private Collection. (*copy*).

Note: Two further parts are listed in the introduction. A later undated catalogue of the publisher lists other volumes in the 'Periodical Collection' but does not mention these particular parts which suggests that they may not have been published.

Taylor, James

A course of Preceptive Lessons for the Spanish Guitar

Publisher: T. Lindsay, 217 Regent Street.

Price: Three Shillings and sixpence (*The Examiner*), Four Shillings (*The Harmonicon*).

Reference: See 'Advertisements', *The Examiner* April 1826, p. 253; 'Advertisements', *The Harmonicon*, May 1826.

Note: Not located.

Verini, Phillipe

First Rudiments

First Rudiments, / for the / Spanish Guitar /Composed & Respectfully Dedicated / to / Mr. F. Sor.

Publisher: J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street.

Plate number: 469

Date: 1826, (N&T).

Price: Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

Page count: Title, [1], Illustration, 3-34

Location of copy seen: GB-Skirlaugh, Burton Constable Hall.

Note: This may have been first published by the author in 1825, (ES). A second volume with more advanced studies was published at about the same time.

West, Henry

The Whole Art of Playing the Guitar

The Whole Art of Playing / the / Guitar, / Exemplified in so Plain and Easy a manner, / That any Person may Teach Himself / Without the Aid of a Master, / Including a great Number of / Beautiful Melodies

Publisher: H. Tolkien, 28 King William Street, London Bridge.

Date: 1840-49, (JP).

Price: Two Shillings and Sixpence.

Pages: Title, 1-28

Location of copy seen: GB-Skirlaugh, Burton Constable Hall.

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Trier, Stadtarchiv Trier.

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Chamber's Edinburgh Journal
City Press
Court Journal
Daily Telegraph
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The Examiner
Funny Folks
Gentleman's Journal / Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review
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Girl's Own Paper
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